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Proceedings

OF THE

Huguenot Society of London

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Proceedings

OF THE

Huguenot Society of London

Vol. 10
No. 1-3

VOL. X

1912-1914

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THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

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Errata.

P. 137, l. 14. *For* Guillemard and Romilly three *read* Guillemard and Romilly five.
„ 141, l. 2. Year of death of Arthur Giraud Browning *for* 1908 *read* 1907.
„ 144. *Between* Auguste Dumaresq *and* H. J. F. Dumas *insert* 1883. Henry John Philip Dumas . . . 1905.
„ 151, l. 7 from foot. *For* Jean Louie Petit *read* Jean Louis Petit.
„ 155. *Between* F. A. Winsor *and* Edouard Wyndham *insert* 1901. Henry James Theodore Wood. . . .
„ 156, l. 9. *For* Beaufort *read* Beauport.
„ 311, l. 10 from foot. *For* Le Soeuf *read* Le Souef.
„ 320, l. 8. *For* Peter de Noailles *read* Peter de Nouaille.
„ 329, l. 5 from foot. For Laschalas *read* Leschalias.
„ 333, l. 20. *For* John Dolland *read* John Dollond.
„ 418, l. 14. *For* William Herbert Manchée *read* William Henry Manchée.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

Vol. X. No. 1

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1911-12

HELD AT

THE HÔTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1911.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Annual Meeting, held on May 10, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Mrs. Frederick Hazell King, 11 Thurloe Place, Winchester.
Mrs. John Gladstone, The Lodge, Parkstone, Dorset.
Mrs. Cooke, Field Cottage, Haddenham, Bucks.
Miss Enid Maude Roumieu Roumieu, 9 Cleveland Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
Norman Douglas Fourdrinier, Esq., 15 Porchester Road, W.
Miss Mary Giraud Browning, Spencer Lodge, 6 North Side, Wandsworth Common, S.W.
Thomas Cope, Esq., 27 Rosenthal Road, Catford, S.E.
Major-General John Charlton Kinchant, Horley, Surrey.

A Paper was read on 'Fénelon and the Huguenots,' by Mr. Charles Poyntz Stewart, F.S.A.Scot.

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1911-12

HELD AT

THE HÔTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1912.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on November 8, 1911, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society:

Miss Doris Estelle Roumieu Roumieu, 9 Cleveland Terrace, Hyde Park, W.

Sir Henry Mill Pellatt, C.V.O., Traders' Bank Building, Toronto, Canada.

Thomas Frederick De la Court, Esq., 23 Roundhill Road, Kettering.

As a Fellow:

The Wandsworth Public Library, S.W.

A Paper was read by Mr. Maurice Wilkinson, F.R.Hist.S., on 'Dijon during the Lieutenancies-General of Tavannes and Charny.'

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1911-12

HELD AT

THE HÔTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1912.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on January 10 were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

William Annereau, Esq., 10 Lansdowne Avenue, Westcliff-on-Sea.

Raymond Louis Roumieu, Esq., 10 Ranworth Mansions, Compayne Gardens, South Hampstead, N.W.

W. B. Alexander, Esq., L.D.S., R.C.S.Eng., 32 Old Burlington Street, W.

Major James Hercules Connellan, D.L., Coolmore, Thomastown, Ireland.

Alfred Eric Maitland Le Marchand, Esq., District Superintendent of Police, Balaghat, C.P., India.

Mrs. Chaloner, Gisboro' Hall, Guisborough, Yorks.

W. H. Manchée, Esq., 4 Huddleston Road, Tufnell Park, N.

As a Fellow :

The Chelsea Public Library, Manresa Road, Chelsea, S.W.

Papers were read on 'Wheler's Chapel, Spitalfields,' by Mr. W. H. Manchée, and on 'The de la Balle family of Guînes,' by Mr. William Minet, F.S.A.

TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

HELD AT

THE HÔTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 8, 1912.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on March 13 were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Mrs. Kate Dorrit Browning, Vendale, 4 Daylesford Avenue, Putney, S.W.

Mrs. Susan Maria Donelly Vignoles, Albemarle Club, W.

The Annual Report of the Council was read as follows :

Report of the Council to the Twenty-eighth Annual General Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London.

The Council has to report that during the past year the Society has lost seven Fellows by death and seven by resignation, making a total loss of fourteen. On the other hand, twenty-two new Fellows have been elected ; and one Fellow, whose withdrawal was included in last year's Report, has since rejoined the Society, so that there is a net increase of nine.

Amongst those who have been lost to the Society by death are two Honorary Fellows : Monsieur Louis Meschinet de

Richemond, a distinguished French Departmental Archivist, and Monsieur Émile Bourlier, the President of our corresponding institution—the Commission pour l'Histoire des Églises Wallonnes. Both of these gentlemen had done much to advance the cause of Huguenot history. Colonel Herbert Arthur Remer, who passed away on the day of the Society's last meeting, on March 13, was at the time of his death a Member of the Council.

The Treasurer's accompanying balance-sheet shows an income for the year 1911 of 486*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* and an expenditure of 342*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.* There is also a sum of 1173*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.* invested in 2½ per cent. Consols, representing the fees of those Fellows who have compounded for their subscriptions, and a sum of 100*l.* on special deposit (Browning Fund).

The Council has to express its thanks to the Honorary Officers of the Society for the services they have so freely and willingly rendered. Included in this expression of thanks must again be the Auditors, Messrs. Rousselet and Le Bailly, and Messrs. Nasmith, Lee & Co., who have continued to act as the honorary brokers to the Society in the investment of the composition fees.

The third and concluding number of the ninth volume of *Proceedings* was issued during the year. The registers of the French churches of Bristol, Stonehouse, and Plymouth, under the editorship of Mr. C. E. Lart, are approaching completion in the press, and will be issued during the course of the present year. Included in the same volume will also be the register of the French church of Thorpe-le-Soken, which Mr. W. C. Waller has undertaken to transcribe and edit.

Progress has also been made with the transcription of the remaining Threadneedle Street church registers, and these, under the editorship of Mr. T. C. Colyer-Fergusson, it is expected to issue next year. Dr. Shaw has in hand the volume of *Denizations and Naturalizations* for the period from 1701 to 1800, and arrangements are already being made for the preparation for the press of the registers of other French refugee churches in London preserved at Somerset House.

The first number of the tenth volume of *Proceedings* will be issued during the year.

Abstract of Treasurer's Account with the Huguenot Society of London.

From January 1 *to December* 31, 1911.

1911. Dr.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bankers on December 31, 1910	45	18	6
„ Subscriptions from 297 Fellows	311	17	0
„ „ „ 6 Fellows (in advance)	6	6	0
„ Entrance Fees from 28 Fellows	29	8	0
„ Composition Fees from 4 Fellows	42	0	0
„ Sale of Society's Publications to Fellows	21	12	8
„ Interest on Amount on Deposit (Browning Fund)	1	19	3
„ One Year's Interest on the Invested Composition Fees, less income-tax	27	3	1
	£486	4	6

1911. Cr.	£	s.	d.
By cost of Printing and issuing Publications, *Proceedings*, Notices, &c.	154	16	3
„ Engraving and issuing Diplomas, &c.	2	1	7
„ Insurance on Manuscripts, &c.	2	3	6
„ Assistant Secretary's Salary	50	0	0
„ Subscription to Congress of Archæological Societies	1	0	0
„ Stationery	7	7	1
„ Postages and Petty Cash Payments	17	14	9
„ Tea and Coffee after Meetings, &c.	6	6	6
„ Hire of Rooms at Hôtel Windsor (1910–1911)	3	3	0
„ Honorarium to Custodian of Papers and Publications at French Hospital	5	5	0
„ Purchase of back numbers of *Publications* for re-sale	5	7	6
„ Purchase of Consols	42	0	0
„ Bank Charges		3	0
„ Transcribing Plymouth Registers (Mr. Kirk)	19	10	0
„ Honorarium for Paper (Prof. Watson)	5	5	0
„ Editing *Denizations & Naturalizations* (Dr. Shaw)	20	0	0
Balance at Bankers	144	1	4
	£486	4	6

Examined with the Vouchers in possession of the Society and found correct,

CHARLES F. ROUSSELET.
L. H. LE BAILLY.

May 1, 1912.

Note.—The Society stands possessed of a sum of 1173*l.* 1*s.* 11*d.* 2½ per cent. Consols representing the investment of the fees of those Fellows who have elected to compound; also 100*l.* special deposit (Browning Fund).

A. HERVÉ BROWNING, *Treasurer.*

The ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result :

Officers and Council for the year May 1912 *to May* 1913.

President—Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu.

Vice-Presidents—The Right Hon. the Earl of Radnor ; Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I. ; William Minet, F.S.A. ; the Rev. George William Walter Minns, F.S.A. ; Sir William Wyndham Portal, Bart., F.S.A. ; Charles Poyntz Stewart, F.S.A.Scot.

Treasurer—Arthur Hervé Browning.

Honorary Secretary—Colonel Duncan George Pitcher.

Members of Council—Colonel Edward Frankland Gosset ; Eustace Edward Grubbe, F.S.A. ; Francis de Havilland Hall, M.D., F.R.C.P. ; William John Hardy, F.S.A. ; Edward Heathcote Lefroy ; Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh ; Robert Alfred McCall, K.C. ; Wyatt Paine ; Samuel Romilly Roget, A.M.Inst.C.E., A.M.I.E.E. ; Ernest B. Vignoles ; Allan Ogier Ward, M.D., M.R.C.S. ; Maurice Wilkinson, F.R.Hist.S.

The President then read his Address as follows :

A. HERVE BROWNING, *Treasurer.*

ADDRESS

TO THE

TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

By REGINALD St. A. ROUMIEU, President.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—Once a year since our Society's inauguration, it has been customary for the President to give a short address to its Fellows, treating chiefly of what incidents of interest to it have taken place during the preceding twelve months, and offering such suggestions as may occur to him for its future policy and welfare.

To-night it is my peculiar privilege so to address you, and this I do with very mingled feelings of apprehension and temerity: apprehension, because it may be that the method of treating my subject will not be to your taste; and temerity, it must be, because I feel myself less able than any of the six Presidents who have preceded me to do adequate justice to my task.

The long period of my Treasurership brought me into contact with many whose friendship I might never have had, had it not been for our Society.

During that period, from over the seas, I have had correspondence of the happiest nature, and though I shall probably never meet the writers in the flesh, I can, by this inadequate testimony, convey to them my affectionate regard and my sincere thanks for their oft-expressed words of encouragement and courtesy.

To you, ladies and gentlemen, Fellows of our Society, who form my audience to-night, I once again tender my

gratitude for the compliment you paid me last year in placing me in this honourable position.

To our more recently elected Fellows, it may be of interest to hear—and to our Members generally to be reminded—of how and why our Society came into existence; and I may briefly give them and you these few facts as to its birth.

In so doing, I trust I shall not only be interesting you to-night, but in you and that larger number of our Fellows who may afterwards read these remarks in print, may succeed in awakening that deep interest which our Society should ever have for you and them, and may instil a yet greater determination in you all to advance further its cause and objects in the future.

Let me, then, ask you to travel back with me some twenty-seven years, and in your mind's eye to picture a few gentlemen, all Directors of the French Hospital (La Providence), seated in the court-room of that building and formulating a scheme for the fitting celebration of the Bicentenary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Those arrangements disposed of, a suggestion is made that a Society should be formed for the publication and interchange of matters of Huguenot interest.

Parenthetically, I may here say that it was felt that the Hospital was, and could only be, used for the special purpose for which it was founded—namely, the relief of the distressed poor; whilst a Society would commend itself to the literary community at large.

Sir Henry Layard was approached by Mr. Giraud Browning and his other brother directors, and he at once consented to be the first President; and in April 1885, at the Criterion, Piccadilly Circus, after a very stirring and sympathetic speech from Sir Henry, and with the adhesion of some forty or fifty descendants of Huguenots who were then present, our Society was inaugurated.

The aims and the objects of our Society are so well set out in our by-laws as not to warrant any repetition here. Suffice it to say that the literary ability shown by the long line of editors and readers of the papers at our meetings,

the intellectual discussions which have been wont to follow the reading of these papers, the interesting notes contributed to our *Proceedings*, and last, though not least, the great value and interest of the publications of our Register Series, justified the founders in their venture.

From that period to the present day our career as a Society has been useful and progressive, and those who would know more of the work we have done in the interval have only to refer to the now goodly number of volumes of the Society's publications and printed *Proceedings*.

My early associations with our founder, Mr. Giraud Browning, with Sir Henry Layard, and with Mr. Faber were of a most enjoyable character; all of them were men zealous in every particular for the advancement and well-being of our Society, and all students of the history of that period which is our especial province.

These three literary minds are no longer with us; but to their memory I here offer my most profound respect, and bear testimony to all they did for the Society.

Many other names occur to me of those no longer here, who actively assisted to build up the Society and achieve for it the success it has attained. Foremost amongst these have been Mr. W. J. C. Moens, F.S.A., a past President, General F. P. Layard, Major-General Renouard James, R.E., Mr. Robert Hovenden, F.S.A., Mr. Marett Godfray, and Mr. G. H. Overend, F.S.A. The last named, as you may remember, was for many years our Assistant Secretary.

It will be gathered from the foregoing that until the celebration of the Bicentenary, the feeling of pride in so many regarding their Huguenot descent had been somewhat dormant, and that their interest in the religious history of France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had similarly languished: the celebration, however, awoke the smouldering spark, and Sir Henry Layard and Mr. Browning did the rest.

As evidence of the general ignorance of the subject, Sir Henry was always ready to tell the story of his once sitting by a lady at dinner when their conversation turned upon the Huguenots and their descendants, and the lady turned to

him and said: 'You mean those interesting people in South Africa?' (meaning the Hottentots!)

The lady duly received her rebuke, and we obtained our rightful publicity at the hands of our President.

Two events have occurred since last May which are of interest to us as a Society. The first of these was the unveiling of the statue of Jean Guiton, erected by the liberality of our American cousins and others, at La Rochelle, in the summer of last year, and the second when I, as your President, attended at Mount Nod Cemetery and unveiled a monument in that little God's acre to the memory of many Huguenots who, after making Wandsworth their home, found in this hallowed spot their last resting-place.

With the kindred Societies abroad we are in friendly relations; and first, I would speak of the Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français, whose President is M. Frank Puaux, a distinguished author and writer.

The Society has now reached its sixtieth volume under the able editorship of Pasteur Weiss, and the published papers are always of much interest. Among them may be mentioned an article of Pasteur Bost of Havre, entitled *Les Cevennes et le Bas-Languedoc*, during the years 1687–88. This subject will be treated at fuller length in a work shortly to appear from the same author entitled *Les Prédicants Protestants des Cevennes et du Bas-Languedoc* (1684–1700).

To accomplish this task, the author has searched the archives of Languedoc and of Montpellier as well as the letters of Antoine Court of Geneva. These collections have never been 'edited,' and will first be made public in the above-named work. The annals of the Cevennes have had their earlier historians, but the forthcoming work of Pasteur Bost will throw much new light on the period of unrest and religious warfare among those mountain strongholds.

I may recall the words of our late President, Sir Henry Layard, in his address to this Society.

'Should any of our members be disposed to spend a very pleasant and instructive holiday, I strongly recommend them to make a tour in this little-known, most picturesque

and geologically interesting district, with its deep caverns, its perpendicular cliffs and inaccessible strongholds. They will then understand how it was that the brave Camisards, with such leaders as Chevalier, so long defied the power of France.' The *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français* records the death of Monsieur Louis Meschinet de Richemond, a frequent contributor to its pages, and one of its first *collaborateurs*. M. Richemond was Archivist of the Charente Inférieure, and lived at La Rochelle, so famous a city in refugee annals.

Another loss appears in the pages of the *Bulletin*—namely, that of M. Henri Monod, one of the Committee of the above Society and a son of the well-known Pasteur, Frederic Monod.

An interesting publication, more closely connected with our own land, is that of the *Société Jersiaise*, founded in 1873, of which the thirty-sixth annual bulletin appeared in 1911. Among the valuable papers published may be mentioned one entitled *Liste des recteurs de l'Île de Jersey*, a useful compendium for the historian and genealogist. The Channel Isles, from the sixth century, have had a changeful history; from an early period the islands were under the ecclesiastical government of Dol in Brittany; next under Coutances, and in 1568 transferred to the Diocese of Winchester, where they still remain.

The annals of these islands are fully treated in the exhaustive work of the late Baron F. de Schickler, entitled *Les Églises du Refuge*. A separate publication of the Jersey Society, called *Actes des états de l'Île de Jersey* (1780–85), calls for our notice. This volume refers to the internal administration of the island, and its protection, especially when war was raging between England and France about 1778 and the islands were exposed to danger. In connexion with the *Registers of the Southampton French Church*, published by our Society some years ago, the proceedings of the Jersey Society cannot fail to be of collateral interest. A museum of history and archæology exists in these islands, and should be attractive to any of our members visiting these parts. The somewhat exceptional history of these islands has been described in the words of Victor Hugo—once a resident in

Guernsey—in the words: 'Ces morceaux de la France, tombés dans la mer, et ramassés par l'Angleterre.'

Geneva has always held a foremost place in refugee annals, and the volumes of the *Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève*, now in their thirty-sixth year of publication, offer many valuable articles. The interest raised by the Calvin Commemoration, in the city in 1909, is still in remembrance; and the monument about to be erected there to that reformer, and the leaders of other nations, will be a lasting landmark in history. Besides the regular papers of the above Society, I can but refer to its special issue, of *Mémoires et documents*, an illustrated publication which, issued in 1908, treated of the *Hôtel de ville* of Geneva. 'La Maison de ville avant et après la Réforme.' The *Hôtel de ville* was often the scene of religious disputes and conflicts between the citizens and the neighbouring Catholic countries.

One of the refugee families who settled in Geneva was that of Roget; and further interest is evoked in their history by the recent issue of a work, *Lettres de Jean Roget*, who was minister of the Church of Geneva from 1753–83. These letters are edited by Professor F. F. Roget of the University of Geneva, a cousin of our late esteemed Fellow, J. L. Roget, whose memoirs were given in the last number of our *Proceedings* (1912). We regret to notice, in the publication of the Geneva Society, the death of M. Leopold Delisle, who was Administrator of the National Library in Paris, and a corresponding member of the above Society.

The little Vaudois Society continues to issue its publications; and its college at Torre Pellice for training pastors, and that at Florence for the same object, forms one of the chief objects of its work. An exhaustive account of the history of this church amidst the mountain villages of Piedmont was given by the late Sir Henry Layard in Volume III of our *Proceedings*.

In Belgium, the Société d'histoire du Protestantisme Belge records in its bulletin for 1910 a general meeting at Ghent; and conferences of an earlier date have been held at Antwerp, Charleroi, and Liege. The Society, formed in 1904, has already shown much historical ability; and among its publications is

a list of works on Belgian Protestantism from 1510 to 1830, which should be a most useful aid to scholars.

From the pen of Pasteur Meyhoffer of Brussels an important work has lately appeared, entitled *Le Martyrologe Protestant des Pays Bas*, 1523–97, and one by M. Edmond Durand, called *Scènes et tableaux de la Réformation en Belgique*, both works published under the auspices of the Belgian Society. In the sister country of Holland we find the bulletin published by the Commission pour l'Histoire des Églises Wallonnes continuing its useful work. We may remind our readers that a valuable library of books, portraits, and medals has for some time been formed at the Hague; while the archives of the Walloon Commission are preserved at Leyden. The death of Monsieur Bourlier, the President of this Commission and an Honorary Fellow of our Society, I have to record later on.

One of the historical events of the past year has been the formation of a Museum in the rock-bound district of the Cevennes, in a house once the home of Roland, Chief of the Camisards, a house situate between Alais and Anduze.

The inauguration of this Museum took place on September 24, 1911, when M. Frank Puaux, President of the French Protestant Historical Society, and Pasteur Charles Babut delivered eloquent addresses on the persons and lives of the persecuted dwellers in the mountain strongholds of southern France. The Museum contains engravings, relics, curiosities, and other objects that recall the conduct of the Camisards and their fearless bravery when escaping from the devastating armies of Louis the Fourteenth. This Memorial Museum takes our thoughts back to past days, when the 'Church in the Desert' was a beacon light for freedom of worship, at a time when enemies on all sides assailed the lives and homes of the brave Camisards.

The Huguenot Society of America should claim, by a touch of kinship, our interest and regard. The publications continue to be exchanged, and will always maintain their independent value for research and ability. From this—the parent Society—branches have arisen, and we may note that of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, whose twenty-sixth anniversary

meeting took place in April 1911. One of the Papers of the past year includes the wills of South Carolina Huguenots; while there occurs an interesting account of the Porcher family whose forefathers, the Comtes Porcher de Richebourg, fled from their ancestral home on the banks of the Loire to their new home in Carolina.

Connected with America, a monumental work by Orra Eugene Monnette, of family genealogy, lately appeared and was reviewed in the pages of our *Proceedings* (Vol. IX, No. 3, 1912). The author of this work, published at Los Angeles, California, is a member of the Huguenot Society of America.

To connect the links of genealogy, church history, and other matters which crowd the annals of America, is one of the objects of its Huguenot Society, whose members include many famous writers of the New World.

The words of Professor Baird at the inauguration of that Society recur in their force even to-day:

> 'Meanwhile, other countries, and America among the rest, have gained what France too freely and thoughtlessly parted with—a noble, heroic, Christian race.'

During the past year we have lost seven Fellows by death and seven by resignation. One Fellow, however, whose resignation had been included in last year's Report has since been induced to reconsider his decision.

It is difficult not to be emotional in referring to those who have been called away to a higher state, to a nobler society. I knew some of them personally, whilst with others I was but officially connected—but to one and all I bid an affectionate farewell.

Resignations are always to be deplored, and in regard to these, all I will say is, that should those who have resigned membership wish in the future to rejoin I am quite sure it will be your good pleasure to welcome them back into our Society.

Included in the number of our losses by death during the year are two of our Honorary Fellows, both of whom had rendered on the Continent yeoman service to the cause we all have at heart. The first of these to leave us was Monsieur Louis Marie Meschinet de Richemond, a distinguished French

Archivist at La Rochelle, who died on May 29 last in his seventy-third year. He was elected one of our Honorary Fellows in January 1900. Amongst many other historical works, he edited for a French Society a journal of Huguenot events at La Rochelle between the years 1584 and 1643.

Monsieur Émile Bourlier, who died on November 7 at the age of sixty-six, was a pastor of the Walloon Church at the Hague and a chaplain to the Queen of the Netherlands. He had been for many years the President of our corresponding society, the Commission pour l'Histoire des Églises Wallonnes, and an Honorary Fellow of our Society since 1898.

Of our ordinary Fellows, the first to pass away from us during the year was Mr. John Hyndman Noblit of Philadelphia, U.S.A. He had been a Fellow of the Society since May 1891.

Mr. Ralph Beaumont Benson died at the early age of forty-nine, on October 17. He joined the Society in 1901, and was connected with the Huguenot families of de Rieulx and Baudouin.

Lord Rendlesham, who died on November 9 last, aged seventy-one, was a great-grandson of Peter Thellusson, who settled in London about the middle of the eighteenth century and of whose extraordinary will the well-known circumstances were recalled by the *Times* in its obituary notice of the deceased peer. He had been a Fellow of the Society since 1889.

Mr. David Martineau, a member of one of our best-known Huguenot families, died on November 24 at the age of eighty-four, having been a Fellow of our Society since 1887.

Colonel Herbert Arthur Remer passed away very suddenly from heart failure on the very day of our last meeting, March 13. He joined us in 1904, and at the time of his death was a member of our Council.

Last year your President had to chronicle the death of a distinguished Huguenot descendant, though an ancient foe of this country, in the person of General Piet Cronje. Another of like extraction and erstwhile equally valiant against our countrymen has since died in General Ben Viljoen. Born in 1860, in the Transvaal, he was present at the battle of Elandslaagte, and also took part in the operations against Ladysmith,

but after a time was captured and sent to St. Helena. After the war, he came to England and lectured in London; but afterwards settled in Mexico, and being of an adventurous disposition threw in his lot with the insurgents there, when he fell in the fighting at Juarez in May of last year. It was said of him in one of the notices of his death that his was perhaps one of the best characters among the Boer commanders, and he has been described as a loyal friend and a frank opponent.

To the value of the literary work of our Society during the past year you will yourselves doubtless be prepared to bear witness. We have issued a number of our *Proceedings* larger in size than any we have yet published and containing papers, I venture to think, which yield nothing in point of interest and importance to any that have gone before. Our fellow, Mr. Lart, has been busy editing the registers of the French churches of Bristol, Stonehouse, and Plymouth, and these, together with those of the church of Thorpe-le-Soken which our retiring Vice-President, Mr. Waller, has kindly undertaken to edit for us, will, we hope, be shortly in your hands. These, I believe, will complete the registers of the extra-metropolitan French refugee churches now in the custody of the Registrar-General at Somerset House. The registers of many of the London churches will remain. Of these the concluding portion of the Threadneedle Street church is in active preparation under the editorship of our Fellow, Mr. Colyer-Fergusson, and others are in contemplation; whilst Dr. Shaw is well forward with a further volume of *Denizations and Naturalizations.* In this field the Society is happy in having no lack of able and willing workers. For the present, we need only be limited by our financial resources, and herein, may I remind you, you may all help by enlisting the active interest of your friends in our objects and inducing them to join the Society both to advance its work and to benefit your own individual selves.

I wish here to bear testimony and to record my gratitude to those who have done so much for our Society during the past session. To the readers of those interesting papers which we have listened to with advantage and pleasure I offer

your and my best thanks. To Colonel Duncan Pitcher, our Honorary Secretary, and Mr. Giuseppi, as also to Mr. Kershaw, I owe a personal debt of gratitude for the support which they have given me throughout the year. Our new Treasurer has also to-night shown you how diligent and excellent he can be in the administration of our finance, and for this very important help I am sure you will accord him your thanks—a true exemplification of the adage 'There are fish and no doubt on it, as good in the river as ever came out of it.' Our fellow, Miss Rhoda May, in procuring for us recognition by the Press, has again rendered services most kindly and usefully to our Society.

One word as to heredity. We—most of those I am addressing—are the descendants of men and women who put principle above everything; for a principle they lived, for a principle they suffered.

The Chaplet which they won is more beautiful than any earthly crown; their joy after suffering, keener than that following earthly bliss; the song they sang after tribulation sweeter than the chorister's voice; the reward they earned, the highest bestowed; 'Their faith was strong unto death, and they sealed their belief with their blood.'

Then, if we are proud of our descent and all that it means, let us follow the example which our ancestors have set us.

'The doctrine of heredity should never be forgotten by parents or remembered by children. To the first it is the association of their responsibility; to the second a reminder of their helplessness.'

I will bring my address to a close with a quotation I came across a short time ago. It runs as follows:

'My boast is not that I deduce my birth
From loins enthroned and rulers of the Earth;
But higher far my proud pretentions rise
The son of parents passed into the skies.'

It seems to me that this exactly describes the true patent of nobility which our ancestors won—bestowed on them by no earthly hand. May it be our proud privilege, as their descendants, to maintain this birthright honourably until the end of time.

The Real Fénelon.

By CHARLES POYNTZ STEWART, F.S.A.Scot.

'D'aller faire le neutre ou l'indifférent sous prétexte que j'écris une histoire serait faire au lecteur une illusion trop grossière.'—Bossuet.

Amongst the many prelates who by their piety, their learning, their eloquence, and their patriotism, shed lustre on the glorious yet disastrous reign of Louis XIV, a foremost place must be assigned to Fénelon, who has been further endowed with additional qualities rare indeed amongst the controversialists of his Church. He is stated to have been the gentlest, mildest, most persuasive and indulgent of converters; never to have advocated violent measures; to have deprecated the rigorous enactments of the State and the aid of dragoons; but to have relied on conferences, sermons, prayers, and instruction sweetly given. According to Father Querbœuf, Fénelon declared to the King—

'that ministers of religion were Evangelists of Peace, and should not be escorted by soldiery; this military display would only frighten but never really change anyone—the sword of the Word and the power of grace were the only arms used by the Apostles, and he required no others.'

The King, fearing for Fénelon's safety, wished to send troops for his protection; but all the latter desired was that the troops should be removed from every place where he was to exercise his ministry of peace and charity;

'for if we want a real Apostolic Harvest, we must go as true Apostles. I would rather perish by the hands of my erring brethren than expose one of them to the almost inevitable vexations, the insults, the violence of the soldiery.'

which shows he well knew what the dragonnades were.

This is a fair specimen of professions which we need not multiply, nor enter here into his self-contradiction by his later persecution of the Jansenists, whom he had previously favoured—a change which, however, could not avert his ruin. We will therefore proceed to consider him in his two chief capacities: as Superior of the 'Institutions for New Catholics,' and as 'Missionary' or converter in the French provinces.

For this, it will be necessary to give a sketch of the 'Institutions,' their aims and objects, and the means authorised alike by Church and State to attain them, both during Fénelon's rule, as also before and after he became Superior, in 1678, at the age of twenty-seven—a position he retained for some ten years in all. The first of these Houses had been founded in 1634; in 1673 it contained about twenty-five young people of both sexes, who are euphemistically described as 'having here found an assured retreat against the persecutions of their relatives ['parents'] and the artifices of Heretics' (Archives, S, 4669; and *Constitutions des maisons des Nouvelles Catholiques*, published 1675, Paris).

The official documents and registers of these establishments being too compromising have been, of course, destroyed; yet information enough has survived to give us considerable insight into their proceedings and those of the numerous similar foundations in other parts of France. Besides these special 'Institutions,' a letter of January 5, 1686, from Seignelay to the Procureur Général, states that—

'His Majesty has ordered the Archbishop of Paris to have received into all suitable religious houses, the women you send there and this order applies not only to Paris but to all the Houses in the Diocese' (MSS. Biblio. Nat. Fr. 17421).

There were at least twenty-five in Paris alone.

M. Douen, in his costly work on the 'Révocation,' refers to the Archives (Fr. 17416–21) and Harlay Papers and to La Reynie's Papers (Fr. 7050–5), for orders of arrests and release from 1685 to 1687, from which we gather that some 120 women were detained in Paris and Charenton; and the

Duc de Noailles's work on Mme. de Maintenon mentions the letters of Fénelon advising the guarding of the fords, and giving bribes of cheap corn for conversions (vol. iii. 501–2).

They were rapidly filled ; for by successive royal decrees the abductions of children, girls, men, women, and wives of Huguenots were authorised, and they could be legally and indefinitely incarcerated in these prisons without their relatives knowing what had become of them. The males were consigned to the galleys ; the females, when obstinate, to those horrible dens called 'hospitals.'

In the 'Rules and Constitutions' (Archives, L.L., 1668),[1] we find :

'As to the new Catholics, wives may be received [namely, imprisoned] without the consent of their husbands, children without that of their fathers, servants without that of their masters ; on those who persist in their opposition the Superior will impose suitable punishments ; if incorrigible their *strict custody* will be seen to.'

Needless to explain that this was a phrase used by the Inquisitors, and meant solitary confinement in darkness, and that the 'new Catholics' were in reality Protestants incarcerated until they abjured, or those who had been forced to do so. We know that whipping females was practised when other arguments failed. Mademoiselle de Villette, a cousin of Mme. de Maintenon, was kidnapped (by the latter), together with her two brothers, during the absence of their Protestant father the Marquis de Villette. This girl afterwards became, in 1686, the beautiful Marquise de Caylus, one of the ornaments of the Court of Louis XIV ; and in her 'Souvenirs' relates that she consented to abjure, provided she heard the royal musical Mass daily and '*was guaranteed against the whip !*'

We have Bossuet writing on November 3, 1687, to Mme. de Tangeux, Superior of the Sisters at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre,

[1] Two editions are mentioned in the invaluable work by Fevrier de Fontette, *Bibliothèque Historique de la France* (pub. 1768, as an improved edition of the one by Père Lelong), vol. i. p. 926. Shelf 12b. Brit. Museum.

who used to punish the Protestant girls by gagging, and putting horns on them :

'These punishments are sometimes good to save them the whip, but the gag seems rather hard : in a word the children of the converted must be spared what would give them pretext for complaint.'

By the long Royal Declaration of April 2, 1666, all children of Roman Catholic fathers were to be educated in that faith, and they also swelled the numbers of 'prisoners' ; while children of seven years could legally abjure Protestantism, and choose whether they would return home converted or remain shut up in Catholic establishments at the expense of their parents—permanently.

At the final revocation of October 1685, *all* Protestant children from five to sixteen years of age were torn from their families to be incarcerated in 'Institutions' within eight days of being 'invited' to abjure, and their parents charged with their keep, while the soldiery supported the priests and devout women during this wholesale kidnapping, amidst heartrending scenes.

These Houses were in fact convent-prisons, whence there was no release except by abjuring. While there, no communication, personal or by letter, was allowed with friends or relations, who were in perfect ignorance of the fate of these unhappy martyrs till abjuration had been extorted. To delay this only meant aggravated pains and penalties and longer separation from home.

These details will give some idea of the establishments over which Fénelon was supreme Superior for about ten years —eight years previous to his 'Mission' and two years after (1686–8).[1]

Nearly all documents connecting Fénelon with these Institutions and bearing his signature have, strangely enough, disappeared ; yet no one will venture to deny that they must

[1] Fénelon was born 1651, was Superior in 1678, went on his mission at the beginning of 1686, and continued thereon for some six months. After this he returned for about two years as 'Superior.'

have been very numerous; but, naturally, it did not suit the Apostle of peaceful persuasion only, or his admirers, to leave records associating him with harsh coercive measures. The wellnigh total absence of such documents eloquently suggests their wilful destruction; and it is equally remarkable that nowhere do we find Fénelon protesting against the revolting practices by which his Institutions were filled to overflowing, and of which he could not possibly have been ignorant. When the stolen Huguenots were not brought in sufficient numbers, the 'invitations' to enter these prisons were issued as 'Lettres de Cachet,' or warrants (still extant in the Paris Archives), signed by the Secretary of State, the Marquis de Seignelay, and addressed to the Lieut.-General of the Police (Archives, Régistre du Sécrétariat, O^1 29–O^1 30).

The following specimens are given by M. Douen:

'20th October 1685.

'His Majesty desires you to take Magdeleine Risoul at Charenton and place her with the "New Catholics."'

'24th April 1685.

'His Majesty desires you to place with the New Catholics the children of the woman Rousseau, who are quite young (en bas âge), in which Houses their keep will be defrayed by His Majesty on your telling me what it will be right to pay. As to the older ones His Majesty leaves it to you to advise them by such means as you think best calculated to convert them.'

'24th January 1686.

'The King knows that the wife of one Trouillon, an apothecary in Paris and now with the Duke and Duchess of Bouillon in Paris, is one of the most obstinate Huguenots existing. As her conversion might involve the conversion of her husband His Majesty desires you to arrest and conduct her to the New Catholics in accordance with the Order I now send.'

The ecclesiastical authorities were also armed with blank warrants to incarcerate any Huguenots they chose, as shown by a letter from the Procureur-Général, de Harlay, to the Archbishop of Paris of April 2, 1686, in which he says: 'I have only

two or three "Mandats" [the 'mandat d'arrêt' was a warrant for arrest] to receive women into the Convents, I beg it may be agreeable to you to send me a dozen.'

Further, on February 12, 1686: 'The King orders that none of the women and children confined in your House shall receive any visit, or even letters—unless seen by you—nor enter the Parlour or go out unless accompanied by a Sister of the Community'; and five days later—

'His Majesty, informed that some of the women refuse to listen to the Instructions given, orders me to say you are to warn them that this conduct displeases His Majesty who will not be able to help taking such resolutions as will not be pleasant for them' (Archives, Reg^{e}. du Secretariat O^{1} 29–30 MSS. Bibliothèque Nat. Fr. 17416–17421, and 7050–55).

Amongst the documents in the above collection is the King's *Ordonnance* of April 8, 1686, ordering 'that the newly received inmates shall abjure within fifteen days of their reception under penalty of being treated as His Majesty shall think fit.' All the inmates had to pay for their board and lodging, and Mère Garnier, Matron under Fénelon, was instructed to write to Seignelay (1687) for money and how to obtain payment for the inmates detained.

Such were some of the atrocious regulations by which Fénelon ruled as Superior, without the smallest evidence of his protesting against their use and thereby carrying out his theories of gentleness alone being needed, but with clear proof that these cruel severities and heartrending separations were carried out unvaried during the whole period he held office just as they had been previously. Had he really been desirous of employing gentleness alone, would he not have at once discountenanced the use of means described above? The reason for this retention of terrible severity as a powerful aid to his persuasive powers is not far to seek.

'In none of his works shall we find any evidence of his allowing liberty of conscience, or tolerating any opinions in others, in any way differing from the strict tenets of his own Church,' Professor Tulloch says truly (*vide* 'Encyc. Brit.').

Fénelon also advised that the Pope should suggest to the King to extirpate Jansenism thus; to exclude from all favour, to strip of all dignities and offices all those who were even *suspected* of secretly abetting its partisans; . . . to eject from benefices and superiorships of communities those refusing to sign against Jansenism; to excommunicate the obstinate after three Catholic warnings; to treat as relapsed heretics those who had simply signed the 'formularies' against Jansenism and who endeavoured by mental reservation of any kind to escape therefrom, without regard to the distinctive exceptions authorised by the briefs of Clement IX and Innocent XII.[1] Such was his advice, such his zeal against a former friend, and ardent Catholics. What wonder he should secretly connive at severity towards the Calvinists!

In an elaborate article in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes' (p. 326, July 1845) M. Nisard quotes this phrase of Fénelon, 'that he would burn Mme. Guyon if she continued in her errors'; so does Michelet, in *Louis XIV et le Duc de Bourgogne*, thus: 'What did Fénelon do for Mme. Guyon? He offered to obtain a recantation from her, but protested that he did not ask for her release from prison. "I shall be content to let her die there [she was four years in the Bastille] that we never see her again, nor ever hear her spoken of"' (Bausset, ii. 328–336); and elsewhere: 'If it be true that she wished to establish this damnable system [of Molinos] she should be burnt instead of partaking of Holy Communion, as permitted by the Bishop of Meaux.' (See also p. 49.)

The actual words of Fénelon, above alluded to, are found in a letter of his to Mme. de Maintenon, contained in the 'Lettres de Madame de Maintenon,' published by Angliviel de Labeaumelle, 1789, vol. ix. p. 248; this volume containing the third volume of her 'Lettres.' The passage is as follows:

'She ought to be compelled to avow and retract formally before the whole church, errors she has clearly taught in all her writings. I even think that the secular power should go yet further. For

[1] See *Supplément aux Hist: de Bossuet et de Fénelon par le Cardinal Bausset*, by Tabaraud, p. 494 (Paris, 1822).

what is more deserving of fire than a monster who under a specious Spirituality tries to lay down fanaticism and immorality. . . . The police alone should be strong enough to punish with the worst penalties [le dernier supplice] such a pestiferous person. . . . If then it be true that she [Mme. Guyon] wished openly to establish this damnable system [of Molinos] she ought to be burned [il faudrait la bruler] instead of dismissing her, as it is certain the Bishop of Meaux has done, after having administered Communion frequently to her, and an authentic attestation of this, without her having retracted her errors.'

As to Fénelon's personal supervision and care of these 'Institutions,' we find 'the authority was not a woman; the Superior [that was his real title] was this charming man.' Again, his intimate knowledge of everything connected with his Institutions and personal interest in the inmates is boasted of by his flatterer, Father Querbœuf (*Œuvres complètes de Fénelon*, pp. 18–23; Paris, 1822), thus:

'Hardly had he been charged with Rule over this House when he became truly the Father, Adviser, Friend of the pupils, . . . he gave them Regulations, methods, simple, clear, proportionate to the intelligence and dispositions of the proselytes. . . . There he saw the pupils, conversed with them, listened to their doubts, their objections . . . endeavoured to calm and console them.'

If so happy in their prisons, why did they require either of the latter?

It was impossible that Fénelon should have been ignorant of the constitutions and discipline of these establishments when accepting the post of Superior over them—in other words their responsible gaoler; yet he never relaxed them. By that acceptance, he stigmatises himself as having sanctioned the permanent separation and dispersal of mothers and children, of the wholesale stealing of the latter by force or cunning; of approving the severe punishments practised there; of tolerating the tears, the torturing suspense, the gnawing anxiety for absent loved ones during continuous imprisonment in these whited sepulchres, and the transfer of the 'obstinate,' whether children or grown women, to hospitals reserved for the most depraved and diseased of women.

Some of these victims lost their reason; but their cases are provided for by a special clause in the Rules (L.L., 1667), and orders for their removal to asylums are to be seen in the Paris Archives. Some lists of the prisoners are still amongst the MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nat. Fr. 17416–21.

Doubtless coercion was needed to produce converts even amongst these unhappy prisoners, and the means used must have been known to Fénelon, who, astutely enough, would carefully avoid any prominent share in them; it would have lowered his reputation had it been known that the forcible means he so ostentatiously deprecated had obtained abjurations his eloquence and insinuating manner failed to procure. Let us hear what the great historian Michelet says in his *Histoire de France,* vol. xv. p. 304 (Paris, 1877). After describing the horrors of the actual prisons, he observes:

'The convents were no doubt more suitable prisons. Numbers of married women separated from their husbands were handed over to the Nuns. One objection was first of all their gross ignorance, they held their prisoners in horror, not distinguishing them from Jewesses, or thinking their only Gods were Luther and Calvin.

'The Superiors, accustomed to tyrannies, were exasperated by the most humble opposition. The Nuns, absolute children, treated like little girls and subject to every sort of humiliation, thought it quite natural to treat similarly a lady who generally, by her austerity, her superiority of intellect and culture, should have inspired respect. . . .

'From time to time the prisons were cleared out. Bands of women and aged men were crowded into a vessel and shipped off to America . . .'

[It is an established fact that many were worn-out old ships, known to be unseaworthy and mere death traps for the victims to be quietly got rid of.]

'Drowning was however preferable to the horrible fate of the women who were kept, and who were put in the harshest and filthiest "Houses of Repentant females." Those women who to escape adopted male attire were accused of being immoral characters and thrown into those Houses of Correction, where even the atrocious discipline was less agonising than the appalling society.

'At last those who did not die under this, went from one abyss to another, each worse than the last.

'They might be plunged into the "General Hospital," that fearful grave, a Paris within Paris, which received some 7,000 souls. A barbarous condemnation of a terrible double-meaning.

'With the looseness of that day, what became of a woman in this ocean of disease, vice and incentive to criminality, the Gomorrha of the dying. I shudder when I read the King's words: "I give her three months. Then she shall go to the Hospital"' (Corres^ce. Adminis^ve.).

'That means cast to the wild beasts. Did he know what his words imported? Fortunately one more compassionate delivered her—Death.

'Throughout these successive agonies, from the depths of the citadels, the Convents, the "Repentant females," and from that last grave "the Hospital" which engulfed her—what were the thoughts of that woman, that mother? She had two: one which raised her—God; another which crushed her—her children: her daughter above all, her daughter alone for the future, abandoned to every probability of sin and shame, wandering by precipices alas! her mother powerless to aid her.

'In December 1685 came the terrible edict that "every child from five to sixteen years old shall be taken away within eight days."

'. . . There was never a more perilous position.

'These girls arrived there, just torn from their mothers and in tears. Others who had already passed through harsh hands after sufferings we dare not narrate, languishing, pallid . . . yet they resisted, to hold fast the beloved, early family teaching, so bound up with their childhood and most cherished recollections. . . .'

In Michelet's *Louis XIV et le Duc de Bourgogne* (vol. xvi. of his *Histoire de France* (p. 398)), he gives an eloquent justification of the truth and justice of the Protestant writers of that day and of their complaints of ruthless persecution. And the Vicomte d'Haussonville gives a full appreciation of Michelet as a writer and historian in his *Études biographiques et littéraires*, p. 125 (Paris 1879).

Another eloquent and distinguished writer, M. Émile Faguet,[1]

[1] M. E. Faguet is a Membre de l'Académie, Doctor of Letters, Professor and Literate, Professor of Rhetoric and Poetry, and a prolific author.

adds his testimony in the 'Revue Politique et Littéraire' (*Revue Bleue* of January 5, 1895), where he criticises M. Crouslé's work on Fénelon. He quotes Fénelon's words:

'We think that the Authority having begun the work [whether by Dragoons or other means matters not, interpolates M. Faguet] it only remains for us to use gentleness and condescendence to bring them over by degrees.'

And goes on:

'It seems to me we should investigate the work in which Fénelon was engaged during his youth.

'He was mixed up with absolutely abominable things. . . . He was steeped deep in the infamous work of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The home Missionary in these circumstances was a charming priest, an unctuous Orator, preceded and followed by Dragoons.

'He advanced with words of peace, and the panoply of war. He bore with him the fuel of Isaac and the match of the muskets.

'He was the angel of peace, bringing with him the angel of extermination. Fénelon saw around him, under his protection, transactions which make one weep when reading even his own account of them. This lasts a few years. Even after that, it was not ended.

'He was appointed Directeur of Convents of newly converted girls, to give him repose. The "converted girls"—the word is exquisite!—were girls who had to be converted. The metaphor is sweet. It is the hypocrisy of rhetoric. To speak frankly, they were children torn from their families and sequestrated to force them to change their religion. The means were as before twofold: persuasion and terror: sweet words and rough chastisement. And these were little girls! Children with big laughing eyes, and a wealth of light ringlets!

'One becomes indignant when one remembers all the horrors perpetrated which that crime—the "Revocation"—caused and carried out. Yet these are deeds with which Fénelon was mixed up for long years.

'During his whole youth around his gown and surplice, so elegantly worn, an atmosphere of soldiers and jailers—the clanging of blades and chains.

'Was he profoundly shocked at the time? Perhaps not.

Ambition was there which was something, and conviction which is more. He belonged to his period and too much for the doctrine of *compelle intrare* to appear as odious as it does to us. Yet he was tenderhearted. He had a foundation of natural gentleness, joined to his everlasting wish to please and his undying passion for being liked.'

The talented authoress, Lady Blennerhasset, who wrote the 'Life of Mme de Stael' and 'Louis XIV and Mme de Maintenon,' thus mentions Fénelon in the latter work (pp. 119–120):

'The legend which transformed Fénelon into an apostle of toleration dissolves in the light of his own utterances at the very beginning of his career. He encouraged the Government to use rigour against deserters; he denounced its officers who were wanting in zeal; he had the worst possible opinion of the heretics themselves whom he calls obstinate, venal and cowardly ('Fénelon's Correspondence,' ii. 196, ix. 216).

'Nevertheless there are traces of his compromising attitude on minor points of doctrine. . . .

'No one dared suspect the reputation of Fénelon. . . .'

During a recent visit to Paris, we found the following scarce little volume in the Bibliothèque Nationale (L.D. 135.1):

'Constitutions pour la Maison des Nouvelles Catholiques de Paris chez Francois Muguet Imprimeur du Roy et de M. L'Archevêque' (1675), 12mo, which shows the daily life and occupations of the prisoners.

The Preface says that these establishments were founded 'to bring back into salvation the souls that had been turned aside by Heresy, and to assure them safe retreats against the persecutions of their relatives and the artifices of the Heretics, so that they could here receive the necessary consolation and help . . .'; and those already founded at Metz, Caen, Sedan, Loudun, &c. are specially mentioned. This Maison des Nouvelles Catholiques was established 1634. It is laid down (p. 18) that the new Catholics shall rise at 6 a.m., kneel and pray and dress; at 7 all are to pray and be catechised; at 8 a.m., Mass; 9 a.m., work; 10 a.m., life of a saint to be read out; 11 a.m., chanting the Ten Commandments; a little before 12, adoration

of the Sacrament; 12, dinner and reading out loud to the diners; 12.30–1.30, recreation; 2, work; 3, work—being read to—silence; 4, chanting hymns; 5, controversial teaching *by a Sister*; 6–7, praying; 7, supper—as at dinner; 7½–8, recreation; 8–9, work; 9, prayers; self-examination; in bed by 10 p.m.

The House was to be kept locked; no men, except the Superior, the Confessor, and those required for the temporal and spiritual necessities, to be admitted.

No inmate to be allowed to go out without permission of the Lady Superior, who will inquire what takes them out, where they are going, and who will give them such a companion as she selects. Should the inmate wish to go out too often, the Superior is to be informed, and none are to be allowed to eat outside the Institution even with the nearest relatives, except by some absolute necessity, or by a permit, given for some important reason, and very rarely. Strict silence was enforced in the dormitories, which were each under the charge of a Sister and visited by the Lady Superior. The parlour for receiving visi ors was to be divided by an iron grating, and an assistant was always to be present, especially when the new Catholics were visited by their 'heretical relatives' (p. 35). No one is to go there without the permission of the Sister Superior, and to ensure this, it is to be kept locked outside and inside and the keys kept by the Porteress, unless the Superior thinks it more advisable to keep them herself.

The rule for 'recreations'—one hour after dinner and one half-hour after supper—may be summed up in Froissart's opinion of the English: 'They took their pleasures sadly.'

The Superior was not only to make a general visitation annually (p. 184), but was to see the inmates privately, and *they were to speak to him as often as they wished, and listen to their complaints.*

It is laid down (p. 43) that all women presenting themselves, or being presented, for the purpose of abjuring heresy, whether of Luther, Calvin, or others, shall be received; so also those may be *received and kept* who are persecuted and afflicted by their heretical parents and without resources, to be retained till some safe home and retreat can be found for them, which

must be done with much prudence and discretion, so as not to be too great a charge on the Institution.

At p. 53, in the article on 'Conversations with Heretical Relatives,' we find:

'If Heretics are capable of shaking the firmness of the newly converted women by threats and bad treatment, they are not the less to be feared for the gentle and amiable conversations they use to influence. One cannot refuse permission for them to see their relatives, it is however dangerous to allow them to *converse together* too soon. Permission must therefore be refused till they are strengthened and fortified in their good intentions. Nor are they to be seen without having someone with them capable of sustaining them and for so much and so short a time as the Lady Superior thinks wise. After evening prayer till the morning prayer silence throughout is to be observed, and during this time it is permissible to speak only on absolutely necessary subjects' (p. 39).

Moreover, *two hours were to be devoted daily to strict silence*—viz. from 10 to 11 a.m. and from 3 to 4 p.m. (p. 39). We find (p. 19) that from 10 to 11 a.m. was devoted to the reading out loud of the life of a saint, while the listeners were at work; and from 3 to 4 p.m. the time was similarly occupied.

At p. 45 it states that at this date children over twelve may be received, but in the Preface it is acknowledged that 'girls and women of any age may be taken in to be instructed for abjuration,' and all gratuitously for three months of instruction.

This evidently became too heavy a charge for Louis XIV, as very soon large payments were strictly enforced on the families of the inmates; the period originally fixed for their retention was three months, but we know that this was very soon indefinitely extended.

The abjuring was to be in public—in the Institution of course—but 'if there be good reason, the Profession of Faith may be made privately' (p. 49).

No noise of any sort was permitted either in the quarters, where silence was to be observed rigorously, or on the stairs or in the rooms; no running or singing or loud

talking, but everywhere extreme modest reserve and restraint (p. 38).

The special places for absolute silence were chapel, dormitories, refectory, and especially the stairs (p. 39).

During the '*recreations*' all are to keep together and not to separate themselves into different parties, so as to avoid partialities and evil communications which may glide into private conversations—every enjoyment to be with modesty and restraint without loud laughing, which might annoy neighbours or the inmates of the Institution engaged on other work.[1]

Imagine the effect of this daily dreary life and monotonous work, without any occupation for the mind and intelligence, on bright girls and hitherto happy women taken from the cheering influence of home, to be thrown into the stagnant routine of convent life and melancholy surroundings, without even a semblance of the most elementary education.

Was it not a refinement of ingenious cruelty, calculated to blast their future life?

Such is the evidence of some of our witnesses for the measure of Fénelon's lovingkindness towards the unhappy prisoners in his 'Institutions.'

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The preceding words of M. Faguet lead us now to consider the Abbé as Home Missionary in Poitou and Saintonge, where he was sent in 1686; probably because his efforts with the Protestant girls had not realised the hopes founded on his presumed charm of influence.

He entered on his duties early in February 1686 and found that the excesses of the soldiery by 'dragonnades,' during the preceding five years, had already paved the way for his conversion. He continued in that district about six months, and we find proofs of the use of troops there to compel conversion and for the demolition of Huguenot houses in letters of Louvois

[1] The little book contains 215 pages of rules, has the approbation of Francis, Archbishop of Paris (March 3, 1675), and was evidently highly valued, for it is handsomely bound in red leather, with gold ornaments and gilt edges. It is mentioned by Father Helyot in his *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques et Religieux* (Lelong's edition, 1838–40, vol. viii. pp. 150–159).

and 'The Memoirs of Foucault the Intendant of Poitou,' two months before and also for months after Fénelon's arrival. The mere threat to call on the troops added to the number of abjurations credited to him; but we fail to see the difference between actually calling them in and obtaining conversions by the terror caused by the mere threat of so doing. This system of dragooning by billeting the soldiery on the defenceless Huguenots would seem to have been begun about March 1681, as shown by Rulhière (i. 201) from a letter of Louvois authorising this procedure, and that twice as many be quartered on the Huguenots as on the Catholics. The Ordinance bears date April 11 of that year, and produced varying severity, till the King was compelled to advise a mitigation of its atrocities. From March 1685, after the final Revocation, these dragonnades were carried on with even greater severity under the Intendant Foucault. In Béarn, everything the unchecked licence of the soldiery could suggest was practised on the Calvinists; and he is reported to have perfected more than one form of torture.

'People endeavoured to find new torments which would be agonising, yet would not kill, and make their unhappy victims undergo all that the human body could endure, without actually dying' (Rulhière, p. 291).[1]

Such were the measures taken to facilitate the work of the Missioner previous to his arrival. Madame de Caylus wrote: 'Crowds were converted at the *sight* of the troops only.'

No wonder Bayle's indignation broke forth as follows:

'Originally a converter signified one zealous for the truth and for the enlightening of those who had strayed; henceforth it will mean a quack, a cheat, a thief, a pillager of houses, a soul without

[1] As Rulhière is frequently referred to, it may be well to mention that he was a great authority on the history of Louis XIV; not at all in favour of the Huguenots, for whom he shows no partiality; his aim being to exculpate the King from the blame for religious persecutions. Yet in so doing he puts forward arguments and claims favourable to the Calvinists—unwittingly—but arising from the very apologies and excuses he advances in defence of their persecutors.

He was historian, poet, diplomatist, Membre de l'Académie, and prolific writer, and died 1791 at the age of 56. (See *Biogr. Univ.*, vol. xxxix.)

pity or humanity, a man who tries to expiate—by making *others* suffer—his own sins past and to come . . . it will in a word mean a monster, half-priest, half-Dragoon. . . . In future Converter and Persecutor will be synonymous' (*Commentaires Philos.*, 1713, i. 93).

We shall rely on Fénelon's own letters and despatches as the best evidence that, while speciously advocating conciliation and suavity, he was privately urging stern measures of repression and punishment, and greater watchfulness, in order to make it impossible for their victims to escape from them.

We will give his own words (*Œuvres Complètes*, Versailles, 1820–30). On February 7, 1686, in a despatch to the Marquis de Seignelay, Minister of State :

' . . . Many [Huguenots] say openly they will fly as soon as the weather makes navigation safe. I therefore venture Sir to point out that it seems to me that the guarding of the fords should be increased. It is said that the river at Bordeaux is the worst place, as all those who try to escape go that way under pretence of some law suit there. It appears to me that the King's authority must in no way be relaxed. . . . This authority must be inflexible to repress these turbulent spirits as the slightest weakness renders them insolent. . . . It is to be feared that a great number will leave in the Dutch vessels which come for the March fair in Bordeaux. It is stated that the Newly Converted officers perform their duties very feebly. While *we* employ mild instruction it is important if I mistake not that those in authority should support us to show the people the benefit of being taught with gentleness.

'The Intendant will be here shortly and that will be most useful for *he makes himself feared as well as liked. One little visit from him at Marennes did wonders* and brought over the most hardened. Since then we have found these people more regular and docile. . . .'

Well can we believe it ! Is not this letter full of duplicity ? for we know what were the means adopted by the Intendant or King's Representative and his soldiery, and what the horrors from which the wretched fugitives tried to escape ; yet suavity is to be backed by fear and military force, with all its attendant abominations, from which our gentle Missionary would prevent

them escaping. In another letter of March 8, 1686, he advises 'that the populace must not be injured, but should feel there is a hand always ready raised to do so if they resist.' And again :

> 'There must be an unrelenting authority to compel all the families to send their children to the [Catholic] schools . . . If Sir the aid of *the guards be used to prevent desertions* and *apply rigorous penalties against deserters*, there only remains for us to let people see there is more peace to be obtained by remaining in the Kingdom than by the peril incurred by attempting to leave it.'

This is the way in which he speaks of 'dragooning'; for the Governor was *Intendant*, and always accompanied by troops. While Fénelon and his missioners displayed a fictitious gentleness, the troops were to enforce their arguments by horrible cruelties, the responsibility for which would lie on them, not on the mild Fénelon, though he was cognisant of them all—even as he was of the ghastly scenes in the 'new Catholic' institutions or prisons, over which he so long and unflinchingly ruled, settling their every detail, as we have already proved at p. 28. It was carrying out the principle and practice of the Inquisition, which did not—in theory—execute the heretic, but, after finding him guilty, handed him over to the Secular Arm, and *compelled* that authority (under ecclesiastical penalties) to inflict punishments which the Church had ordered and invented.

The eloquent Bishop Fléchier held precisely the same views (Rulhière's *Eclaircissements*, ii. 225).

There is no doubt that there were strong reasons for Fénelon wishing to prevent the Huguenots fleeing from their country. Calvinist marriages, solemnised by their pastors, were absolutely forbidden throughout France. The parties so married were declared to be 'living in flagrant immorality'; consequently the men were imprisoned by the police as an 'affaire de mœurs,' and their wives sent to the 'hospitals' and penitentiaries for disreputable females. Moreover, the fugitives conveyed to foreign nations the accounts of the horrible persecutions they had endured. Their only way was to get to Switzerland or

Holland for legal marriage; but the effective guarding of the frontiers and sea-board, advocated by Fénelon (as we have already proved), effectually prevented this—as he well knew it would. Already, in a preceding letter of February 26, 1686, to Seignelay, Fénelon, fearing his victims would escape him, had reported that 'hunger added to religion they would escape no matter what guard was kept on them; but the corn Seignelay had sent came very opportunely, and made them feel the King's goodness'—thus bribing in order to convert; and he again, on March 8, reverts to more 'cheap corn sent, which was a most effectual charity.' But this was stopped by the King, for Louvois wrote in November of that year:

'. . . They [the Huguenots] need not expect peace or gentleness as long as they continue in a Religion displeasing to the King, and they must understand that those who wish for the foolish glory of being the last to remain in it, may incur far greater ill-treatment should they obstinately do so' (*Mémoires de Foucault*, p. 523).

His confessed subterfuge in his despatch of March 8 from La Tremblade, 1686, is almost worse from its continued duplicity. He says:

'We make profitable use of the Pastor who possessed the full confidence of his people and who was converted. We take him to our public conferences where we make him put forward what he formerly said to set the people against the Catholic Church.'

This appears so weak and common by the answers given to it that they are indignant with him, and say:

'"You wicked man, why have *you* deceived us? Why have *you* said we should die for our religion, you who have abandoned us? Why not defend what you have taught?" He had to endure the indignity and I hope for much fruit from this.'

He gives another specimen of this sort of conduct at Marennes, and details how he endeavoured to convert Monsieur de St. Hermine, a cousin of Madame de Maintenon, at Rochefort, by similar prearranged 'conferences,' where the writer (Fénelon) took the Protestant side and argued feebly for it; while Abbé Langeron responded so decisively that Monsieur

de St. Hermine sometimes answered of his own accord exactly what Fénelon wished to hear; later, M. de St. Hermine was sent to the Bastille, but never abjured.

He followed these tactics at La Rochelle, whence he writes later (April 21, 1686):

'I have formed an intimacy with a Pastor named Bernon, who is only half converted [mal converti], but is a very good sort of man: I hope that before long he will be as zealous for the Church as he has been against her and by him we shall bring back a large part of the religionists who are his relatives or friends and who have full confidence in him as regards Religion.'

Then comes more double dealing:

'But he [the Pastor] demands great secrecy, for in addition to his instruction not being finished, *he would be absolutely useless to our designs on the slightest suspicion as to his relations with me.*'

Fénelon even advises ecclesiastical stratagems—such as pretending to ask for favours from the civil and military authorities for the Huguenots, well knowing they would not be granted; adding, 'It does not matter if *they* refuse; the people would still consider *we* have tried to do them service'; so that the victims of these 'pious frauds' were to believe Fénelon and the clergy were disposed to confer favours on them, but that it was the State that was responsible for their not being granted! He acknowledges to Seignelay (Feb. 26) that '*where Missionaries and troops went together,* the new converts came in crowds to Communion.'

Yet he has a spark of conscientious feeling that although they may be *rightly forced* to church and school, it is sacrilegious to 'dragoon' them *to the altar,* and adds: 'I doubt not we shall at Easter see too many communicants.' Similar sentiments were expressed by the Bishops of Grenoble and St. Pons on the employment of the King's troops to drive all indiscriminately to the *altar*: this is the only exception for dragooning.

Can we think, after reading these words, that Fénelon

believed that his conversions were genuine or peacefully obtained ?

Can we say that he differed in any way from the most extreme bishops who disguised their atrocious measures as being 'holy violences and salutary severities of Charity'? (*Circular of the Assembly of the Clergy*, 1682)—or from those prelates who had the audacity to say 'the Heretics would never have re-entered the Church by any other way but by the path strewn with flowers the King had opened for them'? (*Circular of the Assembly of the Clergy*, 1685).

Let those who differ from our view answer these questions. But let us repel with indignation the foul calumny that the greater majority of Calvinist defections were brought about by any methods except the worst forms of brutal compulsion; though doubtless every teacher and every pastor being executed or sent to the galleys, every Bible, every book of prayer or instruction burnt, every school forbidden, powerlessness to defend their belief, made many easy victims to the well-trained Missioner, through sheer ignorance.

Rulhière's remarks on Mme. de Maintenon's suspicions as to the reality and sincerity of these conversions, and of Fénelon's pacification of the Provinces during his Mission, are well worthy of notice. 'She [Mme. de Maintenon] wrote to her relation, M. de Villette—"you are converted, do not meddle any more with converting others. I may confide to you that I do not like to charge myself before God or the King with all these conversions."'

Again, as to Fénelon, Rulhière observes:

'It is not true that these two Provinces were by Fénelon's care preserved from the scourge of persecution, and that he only accepted this Mission on that condition. This young Abbé was too far removed from that high position, that repute, that esteem, to which he soon after attained; if his zeal had been characterised by the sort of firmness attributed to him, he would not have been employed—his virtues would have been useless.'[1]

[1] Rulhière's *Eclaircissements Historiques*, i. 362–367.

The oppression of La Rochelle and the neighbouring Provinces was completed when Fénelon started on his mission. Louvois had already withdrawn the troops to send them elsewhere (by his letter of November 3, 1685) to do the same as already done in Poitou, &c. . . . The reports to the Minister in December 1685 stated :

'*I find hardly any more Religionists at La Rochelle* since I pay those who discover and hand them over to me, and whom I send, *the men to prison, the women and girls to Convents, with the knowledge and consent of the Bishop.*'

Read in Fénelon's *Mandement* for Lent 1713 the pity so eloquently expressed for the sufferers by war : 'Alas ! we have seen families driven from the homes of their forefathers wandering without means of existence and carrying their dying children to a foreign land' ; and then say where to discover throughout his works a single expression of this sympathy for such agonies of the *Huguenots*, as we read of in the *Mémoires de Foucault*, published by F. Baudrey, 1862 (Brit. Mus. 1885, A, 8), where we find Louvois writing to Foucault (during Fénelon's Mission) a series of letters from 1685 to 1689, like these :

'Versailles, 10 Jan. 1687.

'I have received the memorandum relative to the men and women of the Pretended Reformed religion who are prisoners in Poitou, and in convents, and not yet converted. As the places where you propose putting them *would not remove them far enough* and would bring them too near where are many new Converted, the King has resolved to send six to Pierre-Encise and four to the Citadel of Besençon, and the women, half to the convents in the diocese of Beauvais, the remainder to those of the diocese of Amiens' (p. 532).

'4 Mars 1687.

'I have received the Judgment you passed on the New Converted who assembled themselves in Lower Poitou. The King was surprised to see that all the accomplices in this crime were not condemned to death, and especially that one was sentenced to perpetual banishment, as it is granting to the New Converted what they want' (p. 536).

'1 Mars 1688.

'. . . The King approves the diligence with which you went to the spot (where the Calvinist religious meeting was held) and also that if you can fall on similar Assemblies the order to be given to the Dragoons *to kill the greater number of the Religionists they come upon, without sparing the women,* to intimidate them and prevent them from falling into similar faults. As for the youth of 15 who read a sermon at the Assembly at Grandry, he should be put in some College or Seminary, where he can be chastised and instructed in the Catholic Religion.

'*As to the women arrested His Majesty thinks it will be well to condemn some of them to be flogged, and as for the men* his intention is that all shall *be sent to the Galleys.* . . . The Parishes where Assemblies have been held shall pay the soldiers and their forage without return thereof from Government. . . . When the troops shall have been there one month, they may be removed where they will be handy *to fall on other such Assemblies*' (p. 539).

No protest do we find from our gentle Abbé.

In a criticism of Abbé Verlaque's 'Lettres inédites de Fénelon' (see *Revue Politique et Littéraire,* Oct. 31, 1874, p. 444, 2me série), Monsieur A. Gazier gives the following lines, omitted by the Abbé, from the letter written by Fénelon to Seignelay on July 14, 1687, in which, after detailing the causes which chiefly increase the desertions of the Protestants from Saintonge, he adds :

'There is the belief that they can hope for no truce till they become perfect Catholics.'

M. Gazier also corroborates our statement that Verlaque left out the long 'Mémoire' of Fénelon of August 1657 asked for by Seignelay on the spirit and opinions of the Protestants.

Seignelay's request is entirely left out, though most important. We have already alluded to it above, and it is too long to quote here *in extenso,* but we will give a few more lines to support our view of Fénelon's severity :

'Without their leaders, the people would submit easily enough. I continue to think that some of the ringleaders who dogmatise should be sent away if they should continue to do so.

'They would be *hostages for the desertion of their families.* Some might be sent to Provinces of this Kingdom where there have never been any Huguenots.

'One might give some small employments to others, in order to separate them more gently from their families.

'It might not be a bad plan to send some to Canada? It is the country with which some of them trade. All there are Catholic. The Governor, the Bishop, the Intendant, would watch over them there. A small number might be separated in this way. The Intendant knows pretty well the ones to be selected. . . .'

What touching evidences of peaceful persuasion do these extracts give us!

The following words, in Fénelon's long despatch of April 21, 1686, are well worthy of notice:

'A few days ago, in the Island of Ré, an "example" was made, which upset and irritated the people. This Execution will in time produce good effects; for it was a man who died without the Sacrament who was dragged on a hurdle; and this severity will help to overcome the shame of being converted, but the present effect is unfortunate. . . .'

There is no regret for the horror of this act, but only for its evil effects!

It is not contrition, but 'attrition.' In the Report alluded to (p. 43) by M. Gazier, but drawn up by Fénelon at the request of Seignelay, in August 1687 (on the best means of keeping the newly 'converted' in the right path), Fénelon advises exile, transportation; some members of families to be taken as hostages for the conversion of others; *the circulation of letters purporting to come from Holland, but not supposed to be from the Catholics (though turning Calvinism and pastors into ridicule)*; the refusal of alms to the poor, so as to starve them into 'conversion'; the bribing by secret pensions of prominent Calvinists, who would also be useful spies; the forbidding of sale by Huguenots of their own goods and properties; of having 'proscribed' (viz. Calvinist) books; of leaving France; of holding religious meetings; of teaching their faith to their children; of visiting their imprisoned relatives; but they

are to be *compelled* to attend Mass under penalty of heavy fines.

This *Report* would appear to have been purposely omitted by Abbé Verlaque, though written entirely in Fénelon's own hand; and it is now in the Paris National Library (MSS. Francais: nouvelles acquisitions, No. 507).

The remarkable suggestion of fraudulent letters by Fénelon (to which we have alluded above) requires special notice. He proposed to circulate letters ridiculing Protestant tenets and pastors; these, though written in France by Catholics, are *to be given out as the work of Protestants* in Holland, turning their own Faith into ridicule.

And in addition to this *suggestio falsi et suppressio veri*, he mentions a certain Aubert de Versé.

'One might even *let it be believed that these letters* were the work of Aubert de Versé, implacable enemy of Jurieu and who writes daily in Holland against him. He is quick enough to crush Jurieu. Perhaps our Ambassador who is on the spot might with some money make use of this man and others like him, to make a diversion and scatter libels on the party of Pastor Refugees in Holland. Anyhow these libels would be read here with avidity and produce good fruit. . . .'

Now who was this man?

Noel Aubert de Versé was a Catholic Doctor of Medicine, who became a Protestant pastor near Amsterdam, became a Socinian, and was suspended by his Consistory. He subsequently started as a writer and pamphleteer against the Calvinists, returned to Paris, was received again into the Catholic Church in 1690, and being in poverty, was hired by the French clergy to write against his former friends of the Reformed Faith, and especially against Jurieu, whom he attacked fiercely under the pseudonym of De la Guitonnière.

Such was the miserable renegade Fénelon recommended to be utilised for the deception he advised.[1]

We need not be surprised at Fénelon's advice, for, in his

[1] See also 'La Légende de Fénelon,' by E. Despois, in *Revue Historique et Litteraire*, No. 28, 2me série, tome viii. p. 647 (1875), and *Biog. Univ.*

'Dissertation on Tolerance,' we find that he says 'the Church cannot reasonably practise the Toleration asked for by Protestants—which means looking on them as members of a true Church, notwithstanding their errors. . . .' In his 'Sermon for the reception of a new Convert,' he says: 'Children at the tender age of simplicity and innocence imbibe poison with their milk, and the very parents God has chosen cause their misery; must their very docility render them guilty? Schism or separation is the worst of all crimes.'

The 'Mandement et instruction pastorale de Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Cambray,' published at Cambray, 1714, by Douillet, in 16mo, gives us the following words:

'observe that the Church never creates Schism, not even when the innovators desire to remain in her communion, but she cuts them off. The separation comes then from them and not from her. Therefore they excommunicate themselves. It is their own obstinate and incurable disobedience which separates them. Then the Church, notwithstanding her compassion of a tender mother, is compelled to declare them cut off from society. Then sorrowfully she cuts off an arm, in which mortification has set in. Then she executes with bitter grief that which is ordered her. After one or two warnings avoid the Heretic, . . . he is condemned out of his own mouth. . . . The Church must be prepared to inflict exemplary chastisement on all infractions by disobedient spirits. . . . As St. Augustine says, we must use a rigorous surgery, a terrible gentleness and a severe charity—the vigilance and care of the shepherds *must crush* the wolves wherever they appear';

the wolves meaning, of course, the Calvinists.

Yet again, Fénelon wrote to Marshal de Noailles, on June 18, 1690:

'It would not be advisable to torment or importune foreign heretic soldiers to convert—*one would not succeed*; . . . it will be enough to forbid public exercise of their religion; . . . if ill they can be visited by a Catholic officer to console them and bring in useful words. If that does not do and the illness increases one can go somewhat further, gently and without constraint, to show the old Church is the best. . . . Should the invalid be unable to comprehend reasoning one must be content to go through certain

forms of regret, of faith and of love, "O God! I submit to all that the true Church teaches; I recognise Her as my Mother, wherever She may be"; also other such "acts" against the spirit of schism and heresy' (*Œuvres Complètes*, iv., Supplément, p. 4).

These words would be interpreted by the Church as tantamount to abjuration.

The moribund was to be deprived of his Bible, and of his pastor's aid in his last hours, but harassed by doubts about his belief by Proselytisers of another in which he had no faith. Sweet tolerance!

But what are we to think of it when we remember what followed after his death! By the law, all persons dying without the Sacraments of the Church were not only denied Christian burial, but any burial at all; they were dragged, naked, on hurdles to the dunghill, to which 'sepulchre' they were frequently accompanied by a ribald crowd, by the judge, his officers, and the priest with 'the Host'; their families disinherited, and even the poor victim's memory branded and defamed by legal process and proclamation (*flétri*).

Where did Fénelon ever propose mitigation of these horrors of which he acknowledges cognisance?

We have proved his confidential views—evidently not intended for publicity; but they are in perfect accord with his zeal for relentlessly crushing at all costs every opposition to the doctrines of his Church, no true member of which is permitted to be tolerant.

Yet he was, as we have shown, not above using secrecy and duplicity, as the following lines will *again* prove. They are taken from his letter of April 21, 1686, to Seignelay.

'*The advice for rigorous measures must not appear to come from us, for that would be the ruin of the work we are charged with*—but, Sir, I cannot help telling you in secret that to end all this, selection should be made of certain venomous and contagious spirits who dissuade the others—and exile them to the interior of the country where there are no Huguenots; for instance one might sacrifice as examples those whose absence would not injure either our coasts, the navy, or trade.

'Thus exiled they would be hostages for their families who might desert. The others would become tractable, and the rest of this cabal would be broken.' (Abbé Verlaque's *Letters of Fénelon*, Paris, 1874).

We are indebted to Fénelon for abetting two of the newest and most acute forms of persecution ever practised—namely, the tearing asunder of whole families for dispersion in his Institutions, and the hemming in of those who endeavoured to escape from that *Inferno*, their native land; not even the Moorish conquerors of Spain had retained the vanquished for torture, but allowed them to leave the country.

As evidence of Fénelon's tolerant views, there has been brought forward a passage attributed to Fénelon, which we will quote.

'Above all things never force your subjects to change their religion. No human power can overpower the unconquerable limit of liberty of conscience. Force never can persuade men, but only makes hypocrites. When kings meddle with religion, they enslave it.

'Give to all civic tolerance, not by approving everything as indifferent, but as bearing with patience what God permits and reclaiming humanity by gentle persuasion.'

These words are found in the 'Examen de conscience sur les devoirs de la Royauté,' in the *Œuvres de Fénelon*, vol. xxii. p. 319, published 1820–30 in Paris.

Beautiful sentiments indeed! but the *Editor* himself, at p. 254 of the same volume, says 'the Philosophical Essay on Civil Government was *not* drawn up by Fénelon, but by *Chevalier Ramsay*,[1] composed by the latter in accordance with Fénelon's principles,' and published in 1721, six years after the latter's death!

There is no claim for their being the prelate's own words,

[1] Chevalier Ramsay, a native of Ayrshire, born 1686, passed through many phases of religious belief, and was finally converted by Fénelon, his firm friend, and whose biography (amongst many other works) he wrote in 1723. He was a member of the 'Spalding Society' of our 'Royal Society,' D.D. of Oxford University, and tutor of the children of James Stuart (Chevalier de St. George) and his wife Clementina Sobieska. He died 1743.

but only that they were a development of his presumed theories —not carried into practice by him.

It is worth recording St. Simon's opinion of Fénelon :

'Sa persuasion gatée par l'habitude, ne voulait point de résistance : il voulait être cru au premier mot : l'autorité qu'il usurpait était sans raisonnement de la part de ses auditeurs et sa domination sans la plus légère contradiction.

'Etre l'oracle lui était tourné en habitude, dont sa condamnation (celle de son 'Explication des maximes des Saints en 1699) et ses suites, m'avaient pu lui faire rien rabattre : il voulait gouverner en maître qui ne rend raison à personne, regner, directement de plain-pied' (*Mémoires*, vol. xi. p. 288, ed. 1829).

In the following volume (p. 61), St. Simon gives a long and favourable description of Fénelon's personal appearance, rare virtues, and good qualities, all quite compatible with his previous strictures.

It must not be forgotten that Bossuet used the unpleasant words 'un parfait hypocrite' respecting Fénelon, as acknowledged and quoted by Cagnac in his *Etudes Critiques sur Fénelon* (p. 117 ; Paris 1910)—which from beginning to end contain nothing but the highest encomiums of all that his hero ever said or did. Cagnac does not deny that Bossuet said this, and contents himself with a simple denial of the truth of Bossuet's opinion. M. Gaucher also acknowledges this, quoting it in his article in the *Revue Politique et Littéraire*, No. 26 (June 28, 1884), p. 23.

Here, again, is an opinion of Fénelon by the well-known, impartial writer M. Nisard (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 1845), in his article on 'Bossuet et Fénelon' :

'Having become Archbishop, Fénelon changed his course of action. Bossuet had explained in a book the articles of the Formulary. It was the authentic detailed résumé of all that had been discussed in the conferences at which the formulary had been settled.

'This book had been written in concert by the two Prelates who gave it their Ecclesiastical approbation. Fénelon's was wanting. Bossuet asked him for it. Fénelon refused to read the book. His

reason was that certain maxims of Mme. Guyon were strictly censured; by approving Bossuet's writings he was rendering himself an accomplice of her prosecution.

'Yet more: as Archbishop of Cambrai he no longer saw things from the same point of view. What the modest ecclesiastic had proposed as discreet restrictions had for the prince of the Church become dogmas he would sacrifice to no one.

'Before his consecration, he had signed the formulary—after it his conscience prevented his subscribing Bossuet's Commentary thereon . . . ; as long as he had his future to consider, involuntarily rather than designedly his inflexibility was concealed under humble doubts and countless promises to release himself from his own ideas, the moment reasons were put before him convincing him they were erroneous.

'Having attained the summit, all that graced that inflexibility gave place to a hard, offensive refusal. From that haughty refusal began the two years' war between two of the greatest Prelates of Christendom. . . .

'Throughout this controversy one perceives that wish to please, even to his servants, which is mentioned by St. Simon. Provided he saves his personal dignity his cause is gained.

'It seems as though he seeks only a personal success in a doctrinal controversy, and his eagerness to show himself in a favourable light sometimes causes him to forget what he owes to himself.

'For instance, is it credible that an Archbishop, a man of such virtue as Fénelon, should defend himself from having lied?

'Yet this is what he did with iteration.' (See p. 27 *supra*.)

Lord St. Cyres's delightful work (published 1906) on our prelate is probably known to many of you, and in his article in the *Encyc. Brit.* (1910) we read:

'Fénelon remained at St. Sulpice till 1679 when he was made Superior of a New Catholic Sisterhood in Paris, an institution devoted to the conversion of Huguenot ladies.

'*Of his work here nothing is known for certain.* Presumably it was successful, since in the winter of 1685, just after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Fénelon was put at the head of a number of priests and sent on a Mission to the Protestants of Saintonge around the famous Huguenot citadel of La Rochelle.

'To Fénelon such employment was clearly uncongenial: and

if he *was rather too ready to employ unsavoury methods such as bribery and espionage among his proselytes*, his general conduct was kindly and statesmanlike in no slight degree.

'*But neither in his actions, nor in his writings is there the least trace of that belief in the liberty of conscience ascribed to him by 18th Century philosophers.* Tender-hearted he might be, but *toleration he declares synonymous with cowardly indulgence and false compassion.* . . . The one great blot on this ideal existence was his persecution of the Jansenists. . . . To suppress them and gain a better market for his own ideas he was even ready to strike up an alliance with the Jesuits and force on a reluctant France the doctrine of Papal Infallibility.'

This is another proof that intolerance and worldly advancement influenced his actions and that these were at times unworthy of him. Why is 'nothing known for certain about his work' with the new Catholics? Where are the thousands of documents—covering ten years—relating to these prisons, and which must have existed? Why this sepulchral silence about labours which brought him such glory? It is all so dark and mysterious that we are amply justified in believing that his boasted gentleness failed, that stronger measures were advised and adopted—we *know* they were—and that prudence dictated the destruction of documents which would divulge tragic realities and overthrow the belief in his peaceful methods and their efficacy.

Remember those words just quoted about Fénelon. . . . 'No trace of his belief in liberty of conscience . . . toleration is cowardly indulgence and false compassion' with him.[1]

Whence, then, arose his reputation for mercy and pity? On what is it founded? Was it from his actions—did they support it? What were they?

Was it because he ostentatiously declined, before the King and assembled Court, the presence of soldiery when on his missions; yet subsequently not only derived advantage from the fear inspired by their brutalities previous to his arrival,

[1] In the *Journal des Débats*, Oct. 18–20, 1802, the Bishop of Troyes boasted of the 'persistent intolerance of Fénelon, on inflexible principles.'

and their presence elsewhere during those missions, but advised their employment, though not perhaps actually for himself? Was it because 'his life, character, and sentiments belie such conduct' (as we have been told)?

But this is exactly the question at issue, and cannot be disposed of so airily. No one trusts lofty ideals, honeyed words, magnificent professions, and pious theories alone; we wait to see them applied in practice. Fénelon never did this, but actually advised the very opposite course of increased severity. This appeal to his character and theories is therefore unfortunate: it is the last stand of those who, having forgotten 'the Eleventh Commandment' (and others), have no better evidence with which to meet their adversaries but—character.

Was it because he knew not what went on in his Institutions? At the best a culpable ignorance, if not, indeed, affected designedly.

Father Querbœuf disposes of this plea (see p. 28). Was it that he did not know the barbarities of the intendants and soldiery on those whom he endeavoured to prevent escaping?

His official letters and reports annihilate this flimsy excuse.

The only palliation we can find is, that because Fénelon was endued with almost every quality, every virtue which constitutes a rare and noble character, his modern admirers added the few that were wanting—but unwarrantably.

Such, then, is a 'précis' of testimony in support of this aspect of Fénelon's action towards our Huguenot ancestors—testimony which could have been much enlarged. It is perhaps a bold thing to criticise such a prelate, but the searcher for truth must occasionally be an iconoclast. In this case the letters and writings of Fénelon himself constitute the most incriminating evidence against him, though Cardinal de Bausset's edition has suppressed large portions of them, which is unquestionably dishonest, yet wise from that writer's point of view, for they constitute so many formidable 'pièces de conviction.'

Remember that Fénelon could not have been actuated by patriotism, for the Huguenots were absolutely peaceful, and St. Simon said of the Révocation that it was done without

the smallest pretext and without any necessity. Immediately followed by exiles, tortures, galleys, it gave to all Europe the horrible spectacle of a people so grand, proscribed, destitute, and vagrant; devoid of crime, yet seeking protection far from their home.

The Révocation was due to bigotry, not to the political position. During profound peace, with no fear of a rising by the crushed Huguenots, at the most glorious period of a glorious reign, came one of the greatest, most crushing of French disasters—the repentance of Louis XIV.

It was in its results even worse to his country than the foul immoralities, the unbounded extravagance, the defeats and humiliating treaties of a Sovereign bent on saving his soul by the penance of others. The Calvinists never attacked royalty, but always proclaimed their determination to fight for their King, and to uphold their Faith.

There are doubtless many things to extenuate Fénelon. The infuriated zeal of his hierarchy, the spirit of the day which pervaded laity and clergy alike, that he was in appearance tolerant in comparison with Bossuet, who was more outspoken; that he must be judged by the standard of the century in which he lived when the very word toleration was an anachronism; that he had to obey the cruel orders of Louis XIV, whose coronation oath bound him to 'exterminate the heretics'—an oath in force till the Revolution. But to claim 'extenuating circumstances' is tantamount to acknowledging the truth of the indictment, and as a last resource pleading for a merciful view of it.

The massacres of the 'Religious Wars,' terrible as they were, at least terminated sufferings quickly, and are consequently not to be compared with the daily, life-long horrors of the galleys, the harsh imprisonment and mental agonies of broken-hearted wives, mothers, and children torn for ever (at the suggestion and with the aid and sanction of the Church) from those they loved, and immured hopeless and helpless in prisons hypocritically called religious institutions, or in hospitals for the foulest diseases.

Fénelon did his best to prevent any escape from these

inhuman penalties, against which he never protested. You have some of the evidence as to his responsibility for all this: as to his acts as Missioner; as to his claims to be considered an angelic, persuasive, tolerant converter.

On this evidence, and not on sentiment or superficial tradition, we must form our opinion of the real Fénelon.

MEDAL OF CLEMENT XIV TO COMMEMORATE HIS SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS, AND BEARING THE INSCRIPTION, 'SAFETY OF THE HUMAN RACE. THE SOCIETY OF JESUITS EXTINGUISHED 1773.'

This is of interest to us, as that Society was the most ardent persecutor of the Huguenots and furnished an unbroken series of Confessors to Louis XIV during his whole life, such as Father La Chaise for thirty-four years, and Father Le Tellier for ten years.

From these, the King, during his spasmodic fits of repentance, purchased absolution for his evil life, by his vicarious sacrifice of the most loyal, conscientious and industrious of his subjects.

His successor, Louis XV, selected Jesuits as his Confessors up to his death in 1774, but after this their influence, largely political, completely disappeared from the French Court, together with their penal enactments.

This rare medal is in my collection.

C. P. S.

Wheler's Chapel, St. Mary's, Spital Square.

By W. H. MANCHÉE.

As the mother-church of Spitalfields, Wheler's Chapel—or to call it by its modern name, St. Mary's, Spital Square—although not actually one of our Huguenot churches, must have had many interesting connexions with the old French Refugees; for Smedley, in his *History of the Reformed Religion in France,* writing at so late a date as 1834, when there were only four Huguenot churches remaining in London,[1] referring in a footnote to the French church in Threadneedle Street, mentions:

'It has united with itself the Congregation of a Chapel of ease, erected in Spitalfields soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.'[2]

It was in Spital Square that very many of the master weavers resided; and Sir Lawrence Gomme, in his article on Spital Square, makes a special note of the numerous French names to be found on the rate-lists of the period.

The hamlet of Spitalfields, which, until 1660, was of a somewhat meagre character, increased enormously in consequence of the number of houses which were built for the Refugees: the French silk-weavers making this part of London, as well as Soho, their home; and later, as we know by so many of our own family histories, settling there entirely.

At this time the parish church was that of St. Dunstan's, Stepney, which, apart from its distance, was too small to accommodate all its parishioners; and, as the population increased, further Church provision became more and more needful. This fact gave Sir George Wheler great trouble. He was an ardent Churchman, and, in addition, owner of a

[1] The three others were: (1) La Providence, St. Luke's; (2) Dean Street, Soho; (3) Edward Street.

[2] *History of the Reformed Religion in France,* vol. iii. p. 272 (1831).

large portion of the property in the district. He first of all tried to get the people themselves to build a church, offering to contribute 500*l.*; but, this proving a failure, finally himself gave the ground, and with the assistance of Mr. Thomas Seymour, a banker of Lombard Street, erected a temporary timber building, called 'the Tabernacle.'[1]

The site of the chapel was the garden-ground of two houses in White Lion Street, its entrance being in the court now known as Church Passage, to the rear of Spital Square, on the east. Its dimensions were 50 ft. by 30 ft.; the 30 ft. from Ogilby's map of 1677 representing the breadth of the two gardens. The furniture was of the simplest description, consisting of a pulpit, a reading-desk, and twenty-two forms of eleven feet each, which would have provided seating for (say) about 100 people.[2]

The chapel was opened on Christmas Day, 1692, with the Rev. Luke Milbourne as the first minister. This gentleman, a man of many parts, has been referred to by Pope as 'the fairest of critics'; but, certainly, in his connexion with Sir George Wheler he did not come off very happily. With the circumstances which led to his dismissal it is unnecessary to deal in this article; but from the facts published at the time, we learn that Mr. Milbourne succeeded in drawing together in the first year a congregation of over five hundred, among whom were many Walloons and French. A testimonial, dated October 12, 1694, in Mr. Milbourne's favour against his dismissal by Sir George, is signed, among others, by the following French names:

David Lecount.	John Garret.
Samuel Pantin.	John Lekeux.
Alexander Garret.	Christopher Howard.
Samuel Hannot.	Seth Richold.
John Presson.	Peter Le Quex.
Adam Castell.	John Debear.[3]

[1] 'True Narrative of the Case of Sir George Wheler, relating to Petition dated Feb. 6' (? 1696). Brit. Mus.

[2] 'Case of the Inhabitants of the Hamlet of Spitalfields, &c.' Brit. Mus.

[3] 'Vindication of the Case of Spittlefields against an uncharitable paper, privately printed, called *A True Narrative*, &c.' Bishopsgate Inst.

Of the chapel's early history very little is known. This is the more unfortunate, because, particularly at this period, there would be no doubt many items of interest to this Society. The original building was replaced in 1697 by another one of timber;[1] but this had given place to one of brick by 1714; for it is referred to by James Paterson in his 'Pietas Londinensis,' as being of brick and tiles, having one bell, and being a very neat and decent chapel within. Wesley, in his 'Diary,' mentions his preaching there on March 18, 1739; and Theophilus Lindsey, the leader of the Unitarian Movement, was for a short time, after his ordination in 1741, minister here.[2] Defoe, in his 'Journal of the Plague,' mentions that the chapel was built on a plague pit; but it would seem as if this is incorrect. Ogilby's map of 1677, prepared shortly after the Plague itself, would lead us to think that a pit might have been close by, but certainly not on the site of the chapel, and this fact is rather confirmed by recent investigations.

By 1755 the chapel had fallen into such decay that it had to be rebuilt, when the building, now being demolished, was erected.[3] A stone, formerly in front of the altar, inscribed:

SIR GEORGE WHELER'S
CHAPEL.
1755.

fixed this as the date of the rebuilding, although Sir Henry Ellis, in his 'History of Shoreditch,' gives it as 1756. Its decayed condition was probably due to the migration of the wealthier classes, and the extreme poverty of those left behind, producing, later on, the state of things so ably described by Mr. William Tallack in his *Memoir of Peter Bedford, the Spitalfields Philanthropist,* in whose memory the present

[1] On authority of Mr Morris Thomas, a former vicar, and Mr. Goss of the Bishopsgate Institute.

[2] Brayley and Brewer's *London and Middlesex,* vol. iv. p. 193. London 1815.

[3] This building, Mr. Rigg (the last vicar), in his *Brief History of St. Mary's, Spital Square,* states was in accordance with Sir George Wheler's original design.

Bedford Institute was erected. In this memoir, Mr. Tallack says:

'From carefully prepared statistics, compiled from a series of observations and inquiries made about the year 1810, it appears that at that date there were above 10,000 looms in Spitalfields and its neighbourhood. About the same period, 2,852 of these looms were unemployed, and the members of the families depending upon these unemployed looms amounted to about 9,700. About 3,000 looms were only half employed, implying half substinence for nearly 10,000 other persons. When so many weavers and their families were thus in distress, there would, as a consequence, also be similar destitution among the tradesmen dependent on or connected with the weaving trade, as for instance winders, dyers, warpers, and quillers. The distress consequent upon such a deficiency of employment was very great and extensive. Its causes at that particular period arose from the difficulty of procuring a certain description of silk from Italy. The fluctuations of depression and prosperity produced by the varying aspects of Home and Continental politics at that period were necessarily frequent, and very seriously affected the condition of a locality mainly dependent on one branch of industry, which was itself dependent on foreign supplies of raw material, and on the freedom of commerce and navigation, essential to those supplies.

'Hence the Spitalfields weavers were at intervals in a state of comparative comfort and prosperity, but always liable to be overtaken by severe trial and poverty through enforced idleness.' [1]

It was at this very period of which Mr. Tallack writes, that the Rev. Josiah Pratt was appointed minister to the chapel. A prominent evangelical preacher, numbering among his intimate friends such characters as Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Mr. Samuel Hoare, Miss Hannah More, and the well-known Wilberforce, he may be said not only to have been in the centre of the movement for the abolition of slavery and capital punishment and the reform of our prisons, but also in a great appeal, made by Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton at the Egyptian Hall in 1816, for the assistance and relief of the weavers in Spitalfields. This eloquent appeal

[1] *Peter Bedford*, by William Tallack, p. 12. London, 1865.

produced the large sum of 43,369*l.*, to which the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV, added 5,000*l.* This speech of Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton is notable as his introduction into public life, in which he was to take so prominent a part. One is accustomed to think of Wilberforce as the man who *freed* the slaves, but his action was to *abolish* the slave trade; and it was Mr. Fowell Buxton who obtained the abolition of slavery itself in our Colonies, and thus put an end to that stain on England's name.

There is no doubt that the silk manufacturer was always liable to serious fluctuations in his trade with every change of fashion; but one serious drawback to the Spitalfields master weaver was the Act of 1773, known as 'the Spitalfields Act,' regulating the wages of his journeymen weavers. This compulsory regulation was fatally opposed to the adoption of any machinery, which by this time was in general use in France; for, as the weavers on the one hand could not afford to buy the machines, the masters on the other were hardly likely to go to this expense, while they would still have to pay the same amount of wages to their men.[1] This seems to have been the reason of the decay of the Spitalfields silk industry, which went to other districts, where this compulsory wage did not apply. The effect of this removal was to leave hand-weaving alone to Spitalfields; and although handwoven articles are admittedly superior, as in everything else, the machine-made article has captured the market. Even the fact of State balls—where only Spitalfields woven silk was worn—and the manufacture of three successive coronation robes, has failed to replace it in popular favour, though occasionally the demand still occurs. Of this, Mr. Booth, in his *Life and Labour of the People in London*, gives an interesting example. He says:

'In 1870, when the promulgation of the celebrated decree of papal infallibility had been resolved upon, it was deemed necessary that the Pope should wear at the attendant ceremony a new vestment woven entirely in one piece. Italy, France, and other European countries were vainly searched for a weaver capable of executing this work, and at last the order came to England, where in

[1] Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*, 'Silk,' pp. 76, 77. London, 1831.

Spitalfields was found the only man able to make the garment, and he, by a strange irony of fate, one of the erstwhile persecuted Huguenot race.' [1]

So far as one may consider Huguenot history, interest in the chapel ceases with the appeal of 1816.

The only Register of interest is a small quarto volume, bound in brown leather and in excellent condition, with the inscription: 'Register of Marriages at Sir Geo. Wheler's Chapel, Spitalfields, 1720,' &c.; and on the reverse: 'Register of Baptisms at Sir Geo. Wheler's Chapel, Spitalfields, 1734,' &c. This book was begun by Mr. Craner on his appointment in 1734; and the marriages prior to that date are a list of licences found in the vestry cupboard and arranged in date by him. There are about twenty marriages in all entered up, and 197 baptisms, the last marriage entered being that on March 7, 1752; and the last baptism, June 21, 1824. This book is now in the possession of Christ Church, Spitalfields.

The chapel, which was consecrated as St. Mary's, Spital Square, in 1842, was finally closed on June 11, 1911, the site being submitted to public auction on February 29, 1912.

In conclusion, I would like to refer once more to the founder. While travelling through France, in the years 1673–4, with his tutor, Dr. Hickes—better known later as the nonjuring Dean of Worcester—they met Monsieur Justel,[2] Secretary and Councillor of Louis XIV, and from him they obtained authentic information of the then intended Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In view of this, Monsieur Justel consigned to the care of Dr. Hickes some valuable Greek and Latin MSS., as a gift to Oxford University. The University acknowledged the gift by making Monsieur Justel an LL.D. This gentleman fled from France in 1691, and was appointed Keeper of the Royal Library of St. James's, his successor being the illustrious Bentley.[3]

Dr. Hickes had to return home before Sir George had completed his tour, and the latter chose as companion for the

[1] Geo. Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, vol. iv. p. 244. London, 1893.

[2] Haag, *La France protestante*.

[3] *Memoir of Sir Geo. Wheler* (Anonymous). London, 1820 (Brit. Mus.).

remainder of his trip, Dr. Jacob Spon of Lyons, a Huguenot.[1] There seems to be little doubt that this companionship was the means of arousing in Sir George a very warm regard for the persecuted French Protestants; as later, in the year 1681, while engaged on his work which was to bring him not only knighthood from the King, but high commendation from all the scientific world, he made a special journey through France for the purpose of collecting trustworthy evidence of the grievances of the Huguenots, and on his return presented a copy of his Report to each Member of Parliament.[2]

Sir George died in 1722, as Prebendary of Durham; and by his will, made in 1719 and proved on May 6, 1724, he expressed the wish that this chapel should be handed over to the Huguenot Church, which should conduct the services according to the ritual of the Church of England; and he also made provision for the minister officiating in the French tongue. This request was conditional on the erection of two churches, then in contemplation, forming part of the fifty churches under the Act of Queen Anne. Only one of these two churches, Christ Church, Spitalfields, was actually erected, although plans of the second church, which would have been at the north-west of Spital Square, are to be seen in the Middlesex Collection at the Guildhall. The request, however, is of interest as showing that, but for this fact, the chapel would have become one of our Huguenot churches.

Cosmopolitan by his travels, and devout Churchman as he was, one cannot help feeling that his regard for those Refugees for the sake of their faith was more than a passing one; and, indeed, if for no reason other than as regards this chapel-of-ease at Spitalfields, that fact alone should make him worthy of record in the annals of this Society.

[1] Haag, *La France protestante.*

[2] *The Huguenots of the Seventeenth Century,* Charles Taylor. London, 1892.

Dijon, 1562–1574.[1]

By MAURICE WILKINSON, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

The death of Francis II was the great opportunity of Protestantism in France. Never were its prospects brighter than during the time between the accession of Charles IX and the massacre; never were there so many men of rank and excellence amongst its adherents; and never was there a king of France—except, of course, the fourth Henry—so favourable to the followers of the new creed. In view of the massacre this may sound paradoxical. But an act of madness consented to in a whirlwind of terror and fury, under what unholy influences will never be fully known, cannot alter an opinion which is based upon the saner policy of his earlier years. Alone amongst French kings he was without hostility to the reformation, and in their ranks he alone had many personal friends. I do not wish it to be understood that the King had any religious promptings to reform, but he was without hostility to it: his religion was of the formal Italian type, like that of his mother, combined with an artistic preference for the Catholic ritual. The sight of the ruined churches in districts where the Huguenots had had the upper hand moved him to anger; vandalism and rebellion stirred his wrath; mere doctrinal disputes he neither understood nor cared about. Hunter and athlete, artist and poet, with a strong tinge of insanity, he was a typical Renaissance prince: he was utterly devoid of the crusading spirit of Philip and the Spaniards.

In a time of great excitement, and amid the ferment of new

[1] When this paper was first put into a rough form, M. Belle's *La Reforme à Dijon* had not appeared. Thus, so far, the two are independent studies. On its publication, I naturally availed myself of M. Belle's scholarship and local knowledge. Its perusal certainly altered some of my own conclusions and threw light on some points which before were dark. Readers of this paper would do well to study M. Belle's work.

opinions, it was France's evil destiny to have at her head rulers who were incapable of appreciating a moral crisis, or of measuring the force and sincerity of religious conviction. Superficially, it looks as if Calvinism might, if not victorious, still have retained a strong hold upon the country; but the deeper we penetrate into the facts the more inevitable appears the ultimate rejection of the reformation by France. In the following pages we shall find abundant evidence of the 'sourde hostilité' which the mass of Frenchmen showed to the Huguenots; against which even a strong and friendly king could not struggle successfully, and before which the gusty and uncertain Charles was bound to collapse. Burgundy was a province where the reformed were neither at their strongest nor weakest, and forms an excellent subject for study. Admitting that the rural population were all Catholic, the bourgeois contained many adherents of the new faith; and in certain towns (Chalons and Macon) were very numerous, on the direct and hostile testimony of Tavannes. The proximity of Burgundy to Geneva and the reformed cantons of Switzerland rendered help and escape easy to the Protestants. Dijon itself, consistently hostile as was the municipal body, nevertheless sheltered a far larger number of Huguenots of all callings and standings than has been supposed; partly owing to the reasonable temper of the people and partly to the relative moderation of the parlement.

In the years 1561–2–3 the records of the Chambre de Ville relating to illicit assemblies contain whole files of names amounting to several score; and, as we shall see, the lists of abjurations and the number of those imprisoned at St. Bartholomew prove beyond a doubt the existence of a relatively large body of Huguenots in the capital of Burgundy—at any rate, in that stage of the religious struggle which is now occupying our attention.

The population of Dijon at this time varied according to the prevalence or cessation of various pestilences from 12,000 to 15,000[1]; so that the Protestants were in a great minority. I rather fear to suggest any figures, but the papers which have

[1] *Le Site et la croissance de Dijon.* Hauser.

come into my hands hardly warrant our going beyond several hundreds—perhaps. 2,000. Tavannes, probably correctly, states that the Catholics formed more than two-thirds of his government, which included some towns far more favourable than Dijon to the reformed ; but for the capital he gives no figures. Tavannes, the first of the two governors of Burgundy with whom we are concerned, is too famous a person to require introduction ; but as governor, he was as fair in his orders as his character and prejudices permitted, and appears neither fanatical nor bloodthirsty. His subsequent rôle in the massacre, if it proves anything at all, helps to accentuate its unpremeditated character.

In April 1562, an order was made in the Chambre de Ville[1] against singing psalms in French and against conventicles, for the avoiding of excitement amongst the adherents of the different religions. It was also forbidden to carry arms after the bell of S. Jean had ceased tolling under penalty of being treated as seditious ; this order in times of trouble is reasonable enough. The governor issued one in practically the same terms later on in the month. After the edict of January, Tavannes gave orders (May 9, 1562),[2] relative to pistol and arquebus firing at night ; forbidding this practice, which is very dangerous, to any under pain of the pillory. But those of the old religion, to whom the guard and custody of the town are committed, are to carry such arms night and day without scruple ; without, all the same, insulting or ill-using those of the new opinion, under the same penalty. Three days later, dwelling on the edict and the King's will, Tavannes reiterated the last clause of the above and commanded all to live in tranquillity.[3] Every one knows how, in his memoirs, Tavannes says that he prudently opposed the publication of this edict in his province ; but the statements in that most picturesque mixture of biography and philosophy require confirmation. In this case he is literally right. Still, these two orders show that he did not ignore the King's command so completely as his memoirs would lead us to suppose.

[1] *Archives municipales Dijon*, File D, 63.
[2] *Arch. mun.*, File D, 63.
[3] *Idem.*

Shortly after all this an arrêt of the parlement[1] forbade the clergy to preach night or day, but to say the Offices only, and change nothing in the mode of administering the Sacraments: our comment on this may be that the reformed views were becoming widely popular and in unlikely circles. Preaching was popular on either side and was largely political; in the absence of newspapers the pulpit acted as a means of disseminating news.

Two very important pieces now claim our attention. The first is the remonstrance addressed by the vicomte majeur[2] and échevins to the governor, to show that the acts of the Protestants are so unruly and their provocation to disorder so great that the times are not suitable for encouraging them by an edict of pacification.

'A Mon^seng le Duc daumalle paire de france et lieut: gen: etc. les vicomte majeur, eschevins, manans, et habitans de la ville de Dijon en toute humilité.

1. Les jours des festes commandées par l'eglise catholique les pretendus reformés ouvrent et travaillent publiquement et patenment à boutiques contre le teneur des édictzs et volunté du roy.

2. Les libraires exposent publicquement en vente des livres scandaleux [i.e. heretical].

3. Pourtent devant le palais aux places publiques, et générallement par tout ce présent lieu, à vendre libelles diffamatoires, et signes, et figures en dérision du st sacrement et de la messe.

4. Plusieurs de leur oppinion ont journellement proféré blasphèmes, et propos indignes et scandaleux dud: st sacrement et de lad: messe, osant impudement appeller led: st sacrement Jehan le Blanc.

5. Les hosteliers, cabaretiers, patissiers fornissent et présantent de la chair indiférement aux jours prohibés d'en manger, au scandale des bons et vrais catholiques.

6. Célèbrent leurs marriages et baptesmes aux heures (?) et jours inhibés par l'eglise.

7. Font assemblées en ceste ville.

8. Et, contrevenans à la volonté du roy, ils font assemblées aux cimitières désignés pour les catholicques.

9. Ont bourse commune et livrent de grands deniers par lesquels

[1] *Arch. mun.*, File D, 63.

[2] i.e. Mayor of Dijon.

ilz attirent à eulx plusieurs pauvres et miserables personnes, soubz ombre et prétexte de telles faulses et simulées aulmoines et dons charitables.[1] 156 (?).

TRONQUIN. BONYER.'

This remonstrance, faulty in date, is probably protesting against the prospective edict of January, or possibly against the rather later one of Amboise; for our purpose it is of small matter whether it belongs to 1561 or 1563. It is very illuminating. Allowing for some alarmist exaggeration, it proves the existence of many Protestants who were, on the whole, able to do much as they pleased. It also shows the main lines of popular hatred. Some of the articles in this gravamen can hardly be taken seriously; it was an age of ardent profession of belief and the negation of all fruits of such belief in practice. The more we can grasp the non-moral existence of the sixteenth century the nearer we shall be to an understanding of the period. It was a time of secularised life such as the modern world has never seen except in that century.

The first and fourth articles are those which most stirred men's minds. The work done on festivals gave a great commercial advantage to the Huguenots, and it seemed intolerable that the heretics should be in better circumstances than the faithful. It is not a high motive, but it accounted for at least half of the hostility. It also helps to explain the fact that the noblesse, except those of the court circles and such as had afterwards some axe of their own to grind in the league, were not, as a class, hostile to the reformed views. The third and fourth were those which naturally enraged the people, who felt strongly on this question. However much amongst those circles, whose doings are chiefly preserved for us, we may find atheism, it is not to be doubted but that amongst the more humble folk, of whom we hear little, then as ever, many thousands of either religion practised good works and the Christian virtues in a genuinely religious, if fanatical, spirit. In all countries the reformed attacked, with the coarseness of the

[1] *Arch. mun.*, File D, 63.

age, this central dogma of the Church; it was the Mass that mattered. It was the scurrilous and, to our minds, horrible caricatures of this service which so rankled in the minds of the convinced Catholics and roused them to fury; just as the sight of ruined churches which were once beautiful rankled in the artistic mind of the King. Let us also remember how these same deplorable practices in other lands and under more favourable conditions secured the final triumph of the Reformation. Neither side has any cause for pride. The intellectual outfit of the day, to quote Professor Gardiner, writing of another subject, was insufficient for any solution of the difficulty other than that of force. As the parlement had resisted the registration of the edict of January so it attempted to withstand that of Amboise, March 1563. Me Bégat, afterwards one of the chief Leaguers, was sent to explain the situation to the King and his council. The only result was the lettre de jussion which follows:

'Nos amés et féaulx, nous avons vu la lettre que vous aves écritte par Me J. Bégat, votre confrère, et entendu tant par sa bouche que par le contenu aux remonstrances qu'il a apportées . . . et plus nous mettons ceste affaire en délibération avec les gens de nostre conseil privé, plus nous trouvons de nécessaires et importantes occasions qui font pour la publication desd: lettres; nous vous mandons et enjoignons qu'incontinant la présente reçue vous procédies à la lecture, publication, et enregistrement desd: sans aucune restriction, modification, ny difficulté, et faittes rétablir touts ceux qui doibvent jouir du bénéfice de lad: pacification, tant en la jouissance de leur bénéfice et exercise de leur estat, qu'en la possession de leurs biens sans aucuns contredits ny empeschements; et même laisser rentrer les conseillers de nostre cour de Parlement sans les adstraindre à faire profession de leur foy, faisant jouir touts nos subjects du bénéfice de lad: paix, et mesmement ceux qui encore sont détenus prisonniers pour le fait de la religion, faisant observer exactement et inviolablement le contenu de nosd: lettres, qu'il ny ait personne qui ose contredire et s'il y en a qui le fasse, faittes les si promptement et vigoureusement châttier que chacun y prenne l'example. Et quant à l'établissement des prêches, attendu que la ville de Lyon n'a encore déposé les armes, nous entendons que led: établissement soit surcy jusqu'à lad: ville de Lyon ait désarmée;

et lors le Sr de Tavannes fera éstablir lesd: presches suivant le contenu de la déclaration. Mais pour le reste ne faittes faulte satisfaire à tout ce que dessus et sans délays, surtout que vous aimies nostre service et craignies nous désobéir: car tel est nostre plaisir. A paris, le 20 may, 1563.[1]

CHARLES.

BOURDAIN.'

Very sulkily and under protest the parlement registered, June 29:

'La cour a ordonné que sur le reply de ces lettres seront mis ces mots; Lu, publié, et enregistré en la cour du Parlement de Dijon du très exprès commandement du roy et de la Reyne sa mère, fait par plusieurs et réitérées fois, après les remonstrances faittes aussy par plusieurs fois à sad: Maj: par les députéz des trois estats expressément envoyés à sad: Maj:'[2]

The picture is suggestive; a king determined to enforce some sort of order and quiet for a hated minority with whom *qua* body, whatever exceptions he might make for individuals, he had little sympathy; certain, too, that he would create trouble for himself and abuse from those whose views he otherwise shared. Later on, we shall see the governor, out of mere loyalty to the Crown, enforcing the protection of a minority obnoxious to three-quarters of those under his charge, and whom his private opinion would lead him to exterminate. Tavannes's private opinion was widespread. St. Bartholomew was indeed premeditated—not in the sense that the King, or any one else, planned it in the form which it finally took; but the idea was constantly present to men's minds—only let the restraining hand be removed and France would rush eagerly to the slaughter.

The question which really interests us at this point is the difference in the attitude of the court in 1562 and 1563. Why should it have yielded to Benigne Martin in January 1562, and been obdurate to Bégat in May 1563? Their arguments

[1] *Registres Parlement de Bourgogne. Fonds Saverot*, p. 1374. *Bib. mun. de Dijon.* Catherine also sent a letter to the town council of Dijon to the same effect.

[2] *Idem*, p. 1494.

were identical. Why, moreover, should the court have insisted on the registration of the edict of January by the parlement of Paris, which equally opposed it, and have been content to waive its acceptance by that of Dijon? No hitherto available sources do much for us, but M. Hauser in his newly published 'Acta tumultuum Gallicanorum' finds us a key. Under the year 1562 is the following strange sentence:

'Sequanorum senatus Divionensis vehementer usque ad extremum foederi restitit; Burgundionum quoque provincia malle se veterem regem quam fidem mutare professa est.'[1]

Now this is utterly unlike anything to be found in the remonstrances, except a reflection inserted by Bégat in his political considerations:

'Entre autres choses, doncques, que l'on a remarqué de nos prédécesseurs en vostre contrée de Bourgogne c'est que plus facilement ils ont culpé et changé leurs rois et magistrats (qu'ils appeloyent Heudinos), que leurs prestres et sacerdotes (qu'ils appeloyent Sinistros).'[2]

Granvelle[3] knew, and encouraged the resistance of the parlement of Dijon; nor was it by accident that Bégat's remonstrances went to Antwerp for printing,[4] for which the deputies had subsequently to apologise. Santa Croce[5] thought that the deputies were prepared to go farther in verbal negotiations than in written. Dijon was only ten or twelve miles distant from Spanish territory,[6] and in 1562, judging from this fresh

[1] *Acta tumultuum Gallicanorum*, p. 55: reprint from *La Revue historique*, vols. cviii and cix (1911–12). M. Hauser also discusses its authorship and significance. Consult also the above for details relating to outrages on the Host.

[2] *Idem*, p. 22 note.

[3] Antoine Perrenot, Archbishop of Besançon, Philip's minister at this date in the Netherlands. Died 1598.

[4] *Remonstrance au Roy des deputez des trois estats de Bourgoigne.* Antwerp, 1563. Paris, 1564.

[5] The Papal Nuntio.

[6] The Saône formed the boundary roughly between French territory and the Spanish Franche Comté.

light, Catherine may have feared to press hard on the parlement of Dijon lest the province should enter the Habsburg circle. By 1563 she may have realised that, hostile as was the province to the edict in favour of the reformed, it was not prepared to go to that length. The days of the League were not yet come.

In July 1564, we find letters of grace from Charles for Gerard Coclin who had been condemned to death for killing by sword and pistol Jean Berthot, inquisiteur de la foy.[1]

In the following October the parlement registered a supplementary royal declaration that the articles of pacification were to be followed 'de point en point.'[2]

The parlement, in June 1565, forbade ecclesiastical tribunals to undertake any jurisdiction in lay matters under pain of nullity and all expenses and damages to individuals, as well as of arbitrary fine to the King.[3] There is a curious 'procès criminel extraordinaire,' March 7, 1567, at the request of the procureur général du roi, against Adrien Morel, religious, of the abbey of N. D. du Miroir, for the murder of one Claude Guyenot, who was apparently a Huguenot. The court condemned him to be hanged and burnt to ashes in the field of Morimont. The abbey of the Miroir had gained an unenviable reputation for disorder and violence, and offered a good subject, in the heart of Dijon, for the pointing of morals by the reformed preachers. The court at the same sitting further ordered the Abbot of Cîteaux, 'who pretends to authority over this abbey,' or the grand prior, to proceed within three months to the reform of the said Miroir in the presence of the commissary of the court and the procureur général, under pain of the seizure of its temporalities.[4] The period of comparative order and peace brought about by the edict of Amboise was broken by the renewal of hostilities in September 1567. At this date Tavannes took notice of the renewed state of war by ordering

[1] *Arch. mun.*, D, 65.

[2] *Table des édits, etc. enregistrés au parlement. Bib. mun. Anciens Fonds*, 8 *registre.*

[3] *Fonds Saverot*, vol. i.

[4] *Idem.*

that those of the old religion should always be armed, and forbade the reformed to carry any arms.[1] Throughout October and November we find procès verbaux of the quest for arms in the houses of Protestants, parish by parish : of these parishes S. Jean furnished far the most, and S. Michel the least.[2]

On November 9, at the request of the mayor, Tavannes ordered the rich and substantial members of the Huguenot Church to be disarmed and guarded in their own houses at their own expense ; without communicating with any, under pain of death. The gens du menu are to be expelled from the city and not to approach within two leagues ; but they may live in the country under the safeguard of the King and the edict, if they have only a pistol for their protection and do not mix in sedition. Their women and children may stop in the town in their own houses ; and as to the others who remain in the town, if suspect to the Catholics, they shall be replaced on guard by a good Catholic to whom the suspects shall give a reasonable pay. This ordonnance,[3] capable of being very vexatious, did much to weaken the Protestants of the town.

November 13.—The governor of the town, Rochechouart, Baron de Couches, son-in-law of Tavannes, having been informed that the workers entered Dijon with concealed arms, ordered that two good and honest vignerons should be at each gate every morning and should see to the examination of faggots and loads.[4] No serious injustice or outrage took place in Dijon during this period of hostilities. Nevertheless, in this year Tavannes gave the Catholics a definite organisation by means of the Confrérie du Saint Esprit :[5] by its methodical work and, notably, by a sort of social ostracism, many conversions were produced in the following years, and the reformed were much weakened numerically. About this Confrérie a great deal might be written. We all know how the memoirs describe the object and founding of this league for which

[1] *Arch. mun.*, D, 63.
[2] *Idem.*
[3] *Idem.*
[4] *Idem.*
[5] *Mémoires de Tavannes*, p. 318 *et seq.*

Tavannes takes such credit at one time, and at another is so careful to keep away from its meetings.

Now Tavannes was an astute man and wished his readers to have a high opinion of his virtue and prudence. He was also a greedy man and hesitated as little as any Huguenot to take Church plate to turn into 'beaux éscus'; which he was careful to explain was not sacrilege when done for the King's service. In fact his rôle of ardent Catholic and good Royalist, coupled with a liking (shared with his wife) for showing benevolence to those Protestants who were in a position to advertise his kindness, was an extremely difficult one to play convincingly. No man seems to have less of the religious bigot in his composition: that he thoroughly disliked the Protestants is admitted; what he really cared for was the marshal's bâton to be gained by good and loyal service to the King.[1] In a word, his outlook was as purely secular as that of the other chief personages.

This organisation of 1567 which looked so nice and Catholic was not appreciated by Charles; in fact, by the edict of Longjumeau in the next year, the King said that he could do without any secret societies on either side, and that they were to be dissolved. We are not wholly surprised to find Tavannes taken ill.

The earliest record in the Dijon archives of any solemn meeting or oath of association is in January 1571.[2] So that for the inauguration of 1567 we have only the memoirs themselves. There we have Tavannes pictured in the rôle which he loved. An ardent Catholic, busy in founding a pious league like the Confrérie; a Royalist so warm that he sacrificed his own pet invention on the altar of Longjumeau. Some Catholic organisation there was in Burgundy in 1567; but that it took the form and scope of that described in the memoirs was, I should say, very unlikely. The edict of Longjumeau was published by Tavannes in May 1568, and authorisation was given to the reformed to leave the town for their business, on declaring their destination at the gates.[3]

[1] He obtained it in 1570.

[2] *Arch. mun.*, B, 117, fo. 120.

[3] *Arch. mun.*, D, 65.

About the same time Tavannes sent an explanatory ordinance to the town council:

'Gaspard de Saulx etc. aux magistrats de Dijon.

Nous ordonnons aux habitans de Dijon, de quelque religion qu'ilz soient, se comporter modestement les ungs avec les aultres sans aigreur ny souvenance des troubles passéz; ains entretenir l'édict de la paix selon son forme et teneur aux peines y contenues: et néaulmoings, pour la seureté de lad: ville, nous ordonnons à ceulx de la R. P. R. se contenir en leurs maisons sans en sortir depuis neuf heures du soir jusques au lendemain matin et ne porteront aucunes armes du jour par lad: ville à peine de la hart, et ne pourront aussi les dessusd: sortir dicelle sans prendre de nous passeport; sauf que s'il y a aucuns vignerons ou laboureurs, qui soient contrainctz en sortir pour leurs labourages et journées, le Vicomte majeur y pourvoyra de sorte que leurs ouvrages ne cessent. Le tout pendant que les éstrangers [1] seront en ce gouvernement ou jusques aultrement par nous sera ordonné. Aud: Dijon le dernier jour d'apvril, mil cinq cens soixante huit.[2]

G. DE SAULX
par ordoñ. de mond: s^r DE TAVANNES
PERROUT.'

On June 30, two merchants of Chalons petitioned that the mayor be forbidden to refuse them entry to the town for their business, contrary to the edict. The parlement found in their favour: 'Ces deux particuliers n'ayant point contrevenu à l'edit.'[3]

The short-lived peace was broken in September by Catherine drawing to the side of the Guises, and the toleration given by the edicts was revoked. Matters were now serious for the reformed, and next month we find rolls of those who left the new religion to live 'catholiquement,' and who brought to the mayor the certificates given them by their curés. Once more let us recall that the town council was most hostile to the reformed.

[1] Zweibrucken and the reiters.
[2] *Arch. mun.*, B, 458, no. 141.
[3] *Arch. mun.*, D, 65.

17	names	from	the parish of	Notre Dame
6	,,	,,	,,	S. Médard.
5	,,	,,	,,	S. Michel.
18	,,	,,	,,	S. Jean.
4	,,	,,	,,	S. Philibert.
3	,,	,,	,,	S. Pierre.
4	,,	,,	,,	S. Nicolas.[1]

These are the seven original parishes of Dijon. The professions, recorded in most cases, are very varied: merchants, drapers, iron-workers, pastry cooks, upholsterers, doctors, goldsmiths, hat- and shoe-makers, legal men, and a few—a very few—vignerons. The vignerons who inhabited the semirural faubourg of S. Philibert were intensely Catholic; whilst the craftsmen and, notably the metal-workers, in the heart of the city, were strongly inclined to the reformed teaching. Henceforth, abjurations are numerous; these people, added to the quantity who had not abjured at the time of St. Bartholomew, show the reformed to have been very numerous.

In 1569 are requests (forty-three signatures in all) to Mr de Vantoux, acting governor in Burgundy, to be freed from prison where the petitioners were detained. They declared that they have broken no edict of the King. Many of them were women. Most of these requests are endorsed in the autograph signature of Vantoux with an order for their setting at liberty, if they promise to live 'catholiquement.'[2]

The following request to the mayor may serve as a specimen (one out of scores) and is of interest from the fact that the poor man, in his anxiety for freedom, promised too much:

'Monsieur le Vicomte majeur etc.; François Thierry, merchant of Dijon, supplie humblement, détenu ez prisons de ceste ville par votre ordonnance, qu il vous plaise le délivrer et éslargir ès fins qu'il puisse faire acte et devoir du chréstien; à sçavoir se présenter humblement au sacrement de confession, et à la réception du très sacré cors ~~et sang~~ de Jesus Christ à la saincte messe; désavouant

[1] *Arch. mun.*, B, 174 *bis*.
[2] *Arch. mun.*, D, 65.

pour mal le passé et protestant qu'à l'avenir il fera mieux . . . et en signe de vérité il s'est soubscrit de sa propre main, ce xvii jour de Septembre, mil V^c LXVII.[1]

THIERRY FRANÇOIS.'

The words ' et sang ' have been struck through with a pen : so to promise would be regarded as an act of heresy on the part of an abjuring Protestant. The phrase is not in itself contrary to the Roman doctrine ; and if used by a Catholic above suspicion would not be regarded as heretical.

The peace of Saint-Germain, contrary to the usual experience, met with no opposition from the parlement ; it was registered August 1570, the month of its promulgation. No doubt two years' turmoil and uncertainty had wearied the people of Dijon ; interfered with their wine trade, and generally made things uncomfortable. This edict did not, apparently, check the abjurations for the following month, and, throughout the winter, we find rolls amounting in all to some dozens of names. It is strange that these abjurations should have continued after the favourable edict of Saint-Germain, rendered all the more encouraging by a general change in Charles's foreign policy. Possibly, however, the recollection of Jarnac and Moncontour was depressing to the Huguenots, and made many doubt the possibility of final success in the field.

In September 1570, were issued the letters of office to the Count of Charny as lieutenant-general in Burgundy.[2] This man will now occupy our attention.[3] As he is the hero of several writers for his humanity and courage in preserving Dijon and his government from organised massacre—which he certainly did—and is still honoured at Dijon by having his name given to one of the finest streets in the town, a few words about Charny may not be out of place. Eléonore de Chabot was the son of Philippe de Chabot, admiral of France ; at the time of his appointment to the post of governor he was grand écuyer of France, chevalier of the order, and privy

[1] *Arch. mun.*, D, 65.

[2] *Anciens Fonds. Bib. mun.* 8 *registre.*

[3] His correspondence as governor and other information as to his subsequent life are printed in an appendix.

councillor. Tavannes accuses him of ingratitude; for he says that he himself obtained Charny's honours for him and married his son to Charny's daughter on the understanding that, after six months, he would make over the government to Tavannes's son. This, Charny certainly never did; for the rest, we have only Tavannes's, or rather his son's, word for the whole business. He was an honest governor—not a common thing in those times—and subsequently took part against the League; he was present at the reduction of Dijon to the obedience of Henry IV; he died at Saint-Jean-de-Losne,[1] 1597. Charny seems to have been a typical 'royal,' not of very strong mind, a provincial noble of no great intelligence; without any sympathy for the reformed, but of sufficiently chivalrous a nature to object to the baseness of cold-blooded massacre. His fame rests entirely on his attitude at St. Bartholomew. He had all a military noble's aversion to the mob-rule of a town and its council. As we shall see, he ordered all the reformed to prison on news of the massacre, doubting, he said, if such was the King's real intention; against the wishes of the municipality he speedily released them; but, unfortunately, he allowed the murder of the Sr de Traves in the castle, after he received orders from Paris that de Traves was particularly obnoxious.

It must, however, be remembered that the provincial governors may well, at the time, have believed the court version of a conspiracy and rising of the Huguenots; knowing that many of them were warlike and disaffected. It is known that Charny conferred with Jeannin,[2] a conseiller of the parlement, on receipt of the news; and it is supposed that Jeannin's influence, a man of learning and character, was on the side of mercy. If we cannot place Charny very high in the list of heroes, at least we are grateful to him for saving his province from wholesale massacre and for setting free dozens of miserable prisoners. Before continuing our subject, we may observe that several provincial governors acted in a similar manner, and

[1] A town twenty miles south-east of Dijon.

[2] Afterwards president of the Leaguer parlement and most creditable of Leaguers.

that humanity appeared in very unlikely places; for some of them, Tende and Saint-Herem,[1] were notorious for their roughness, not to say ferocity, in war. The moral sense of the half-Italian court sank below that of the pure French military class. A recent writer[2] similarly observes that the moral sense of the Roman Curia was far below that of the best lay Catholic minds in France.

In spite of the Confrérie and abjurations, the Protestants must have remained not only numerous, but influential; for they were able to meet openly in the Maison de Ville with the Catholics, to choose a deputation to go to meet marshal de Vielleville on his mission extraordinary for the execution of the edict of pacification in Burgundy. No less than sixty-three names of the reformed are given; and it is reasonable to suppose that these were only the notables amongst the party. Finally, the deputies were chosen as follows, February 1571:

For the Catholics.

Hugues Tisserand, vicomte majeur.
Me Benigne Martin.
Me Jehan Maillard.
Me Estienne Coussin.
Me Bernard Desbarres.
Me Jehan des Varennes.
Me Jehan Morelet.
} All échevins.

For the new religion.

Me Estienne Saumaize, maître des comptes.
Me Benigne Chisseret, procureur de la ville.
Me Germain Fournier, ,,
Claude Desbarres, marchant.
Pierre Bidocard, ,,
Jehan Sousselier,[3] ,,

Shortly before the edict of Saint-Germain we have a glimpse of many irreconcilable Huguenots imprisoned in the Maison

[1] Governors of Provence and Auvergne respectively.
[2] Whitehead, *Gaspard de Coligny.*
[3] *Arch. mun.*, D, 63.

du Roi. There is nothing depressed about their attitude; they are full of hopes and plans for the future, confident and even boisterous; able to communicate freely with their friends in the town, and render the lives of their custodians a burden to them—to judge by a doléance of the chief warder to the town council.[1]

In March 1572, Charles sent an order to suspend all the taxes levied on the reformed, contrary to his edict; except such as those of either religion must pay.[2]

In August, the fatal month, the young Sr de Vantoux, son of the acting governor, whom we have met, declared himself a Huguenot, and established the reformed cult in his château, about two leagues' distance from Dijon.

The party of the religion was far from being extinguished.

The general position up to August 1572 may be summarised.

The various edicts were, on the whole, observed—against the wishes of the local authorities and the governors—owing to the insistence of Charles. In the intervals of hostilities the laws—always ready—against heresy and sedition were liable to be tightened. A large number of more or less voluntary conversions took place towards the end of Tavannes's lieutenancy. After the commission of de Vielleville, the prospects and courage of the reformed increased, and they bid fair to become a more influential party than ever before. The thunderbolt of St. Bartholomew, though only costing one life at Dijon, had such an effect upon men's minds that the reformed in Burgundy, soon to become merged into royaux and politiques by the League and Spain, ceased to exist as a political party. I spoke of more or less voluntary conversions. It is clear, from the reasons alleged in the various petitions which exist from people praying to be taken off the rolls of the reformed, that the profession of Protestantism incurred several losses and inconveniences;[3] which, however, diminished in proportion as the rank and substance of individuals increased. The substantial citizen by paying a sort of lump fine would be prac-

[1] *Arch. mun.*, B, 174, *bis.* fos. 136, 137.
[2] *Arch. mun.*, D, 65.
[3] *Arch. mun.*, as shown by specimens in D, 66.

tically immune from annoyance. A man like young Vantoux would be let entirely alone, except upon direct orders from the governor. We may note the close parallel between this state of things and the working of our own Recusancy Laws.

The smaller folk suffered inconvenience in their trade in Dijon, in their friendships, in legal rights, in family matters; in short, from a kind of ostracism. But there was no persecution, in the sense in which such existed after the revocation of the edict a hundred years later; nor, for that matter, as Catholics endured under the penal laws in Ireland. The condition of the Huguenots in Charles IX's reign, up to the massacre, was not unlike, nor materially worse, than that of Nonconformists under Charles II; and in both cases it was the power rather than the intentions of the monarchs which were at fault.

On August 31, 1572, Charny, at a meeting of the town council, informed the magistrates as to what had happened in Paris in the matter of the conspiracy of those of the new opinion against the King, his brothers, and generally against the high Catholic lords. How the admiral, la Rochefoucault, and other seigneurs had been killed; how those of the new religion, in hatred of this, had risen in many towns, and that danger was to be feared at Dijon. The governor ordered all the reformed who had taken up arms during the troubles to be imprisoned; and added that he himself would write to the King to hear his majesty's real intention.[1] Charny undoubtedly accepted for a fact the story of the imaginary conspiracy.

The town council decided that no one imprisoned for the matter of religion could be released without their consent. But three days later, Charny set free many of the detained.[2] The municipality dared not ignore the orders of the grand écuyer.

At the same time, he ordered the body of Benigne Fevre,[3] a Protestant jeweller, who had not communicated for over five years, to be buried with his family in the cemetery of S. Jean, contrary to the views of the curé, who thought that it should be flung out on the public road. So far, the works of the Count

[1] *Arch. mun.*, B, series 1567–1578. Délibérations de la Chambre de Ville.
[2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

of Charny have been all good. Now we must consider the unfortunate minute in the council meeting of September 22, 1572.

'Monsieur le maire a proposé à la compagnie ce qui fut hier faict de l'ordonnance de monsieur le grand comte de Charny lieut: gen: pour le roy en ce pays suivant les lettres de S.M. contre le sieur de Traves qui estoit des chefz de ceulx de la nouvelle religion prisonnier au chasteaul tué la nuict passée aud: chasteaul par les gens du prévost des marérchanlx et gecté dans les foussés et a dict que led: s^r le grand luy a demandé ung roolle de ceulx de la religion les moings séditieux et factieux en l'hostel de la ville afin de les élargir et mectre hors. Ce qui a ésté faict et délibéré qu'il sera porté et délivre aud: S^r par mond: sieur le maire.'[1]

This minute, which so directly implicates Charny in the death of de Traves has some peculiarities. The complicity of the King seems probable, but in an unpunctuated document the sense is not absolutely clear.[2] The phrase 'ceulx de la religion,' in a hostile writing, is most unusual. It is the expression always used by the Huguenots of themselves. There can be no doubt, however, as to the authenticity of the piece. The last half of it is better than the first, and, as it is the only record of the kind, we may regard it as the one weak and cruel act of a man who justly deserves our regard for many other deeds. The following is a specimen of a petition and order for release:

'A Mon^sgn le comte de Charny etc. Pierre Grangier, libraire de Dijon, demeurant devant l'eglise st Estienne, agé d environ LXXV ans, détenu prisonnier environ cinq sepmaines en grande misère et calamité, à la requeste des sieurs maire et éschevins de Dijon, comme étant de la religion réformée; combien qu'il n'ayt jamais porté armes ny fait aulcune chose tendant à sédition, ains veseu en simplicité, suyvant les édictz du roy, ainsi que charcun sçayt. Ce considéré, Monseigneur, il vous plaira avoir ésgard à la caducité, vieillesse, et simplicité du suppliant, et icelluy mettre hors des prisons qu'il ayt moyen de gagner sa vie et vivre suyvant les édictz du roy; et il priera Dieu pour l'augmentation de votre noble prosperité et santé. PIERRE GRANGIER.

[1] *Arch. mun.*, B, 208, fo. 23. Millière was mayor for 1572.

[2] This minute has been left unpunctuated purposely.

Charny scribbled in the margin his usual formula :

'Nous ordonnons au vicomte majeur et éschevins de la ville de Dijon éslargir et mectre hors des prisons ce supliant mesmes charges et conditions : faict à Dijon, le vi^e octobre 1572.

CHARNY.'

It is endorsed :

'Le mardi, viie d'octobre, 1572, led: Grangier a esté mis hors de prison suyvant l'ordonnance dud: s^r le grant.' [1]

There are very many of these requests and orders, but the general sense is the same, and it is unnecessary to print any others. But the following general order to the town council is worth noticing, for it again introduces the person of the King :

'Aux vicomte, manans, etc. ; salut. Comme nous avons ainsi reçu commandement du roy de faire mettre en liberté ceulx de la N. R. P. R. qui, par notre ordonnance, ont estés mis prisonniers ; pourvu qu'ilz se conduisent doulcement et modestement ; ordonnons que, incontinant, vous avez à éslargir et mettre hors lad: prison tous ceulx que nous avons baillé par ordonnance et roolle signé de notre main. fait à Dijon soubz nostre sceing et chargé à noz armoiries. le 2 octobre, 1572.[2]

CHARNY.

PEGORRIER.'

Here follow thirty-five names ; five of these are women.

In the case of those, and amongst them, one, Chappelet, who could furnish no guarantees, the mayor evidently thought that he could evade the Count's general order ; this device, however, failed. They were liberated very soon after. Charny wrote the following on Chappelet's complaint :

'Attendu que le supliant n'a pu trouver caution, nous ordonnons aux vicomte majeur et éschevins de la ville de l'éslargir à caution jurée par luymesme ; et néaulmoings déffandons de déspartir de la ville jusques à ce que nous cy après ordonnerons. Faict à Dijon, le dixième jour du moys d'octobre, l'an mil cinq cent soixante et douze.[3]

CHARNY.

par MONSEIGNEUR, PEGORRIER.'

[1] *Arch. mun.*, D, 65. M^r le Grand is the title generally used in these documents to indicate Charny.

[2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

The petitions, generally speaking, are very black and well preserved, and were evidently written chiefly by clerks; whereas Charny's marginal scribble is much faded.

There was some question about a certain Desplanches in the winter of 1572. The certificate which follows is not an abjuration, but simply a certificate of catholicity. It does not at all follow that Desplanches had ever been a Huguenot.

'Je soubsigné curé de l'eglise parrochial de monsieur St Médard à Dijon, certifie que, depuis trois ans que je suis curé dud: paroisse, j'ay tousiours veu venir en icelle eglise Jehan Desplanches, libraire, et faire office d'ung bon Chréstien ; mesmement ès jours de Pasques recevoit le saint sacrement de l'autel : ce que je certiffie soubz mon seing cy mis. 12 janvier, 1573.

BÉRARD.'[1]

In the same month, we find an arrêt of parlement about witchcraft, which is of interest. Questions of sorcery and witchcraft much exercised the popular mind at this date and led to terrible scenes in reformed Scotland and elsewhere. However much France failed in religious toleration, she was certainly ahead of other countries in the matter of witchcraft. The arrêt condemned a man and woman to perpetual banishment and 'amende honorable' for sorcery. (Sorcery, in French processes, was almost invariably mixed up with poisoning.) It proceeded : And to the end that similar errors do not increase amongst Christians, and that superstition be uprooted from the minds of the ignorant, the court exhorts and orders all bishops and curates to teach and instruct the folk in the true knowledge and pure worshipping of God, and to flee all superstitions covered by a pretext of religion ; and, moreover, forbids the prévôts of the maréchaussées and inferior tribunals of the ressort to entertain any process of witchcraft, under pain of nullity, expenses, and damages.[2] All such cases were to come before the Tournelle. This marks the first step in enlightenment ; for no real progress in humanity, or even in common sense, was possible so long as such a ridiculous and

[1] *Arch. mun.* D, 66.
[2] *Fonds Saverot*, No. 3, vol. i., *Bib. mun.*

cruel belief existed. Another century had, however, to elapse before Colbert—for ever honourable for stopping this cruel folly—finally forbade the parlements to consider any more cases of witchcraft.

Another interesting arrêt of June 9, 1573, throws light on ecclesiastical disorders. The procureur général du roi required that the temporalities of various hospitals and almshouses, which were no longer administered according to the pious intentions of the founders, but were full of abuses, should be seized and placed under the hand of His Majesty, to be ruled by people of position and substance; and that the revenues should be duly distributed to the poor and necessitous.

The court ordered that the dean, canons, and chapter of the Ste Chapelle, who had the administration of these hospitals, should find two men of substance for each of the hospitals; who shall have the administration of all the revenue, which they shall employ solely for the support and feeding of all the poor, indifferently. All titles, deeds, and sources of revenue were to be exhibited within a week to the procureur général. Moreover, the court ordered the clergy to perform the divine service accustomed to be said in the hospitals and almshouses; and to administer the Sacraments to the poor in person, as their duty and office required according to the edicts.[1] Such useful legislation was constantly being enacted in the various parlements, and is too often overlooked by the student, whose eyes are apt to be overmuch fixed on the commotion which raged around.

Before finishing this paper, let us take one of the last letters patent of the unhappy Charles, written at the end of his miserable life.

'Aux maire et éschevins etc.—

De par le roy. Chers et bien améz nous avons heu advis que les faulx bruitz seméz par aulcuns mal affectionnéz au repos publicq, et qui ne demandent que à veoir recommencer les troubles afin qu'ils aient pendant iceulx plus de moien de mal faire, piller, et oppresser le peuple comme ils faisoient durant les passéz, ont estés causes que nos subjects de la Nouvelle opinion sont entréz en si grande défiance

[1] *Fonds Saverot*, No. 3, vol. I., *Bib. mun.*

estimant que lesd: faulx bruitz, à quoy n'avons jamais pensé fussent véritables. Et ont lesd: de la N. O., sur ces occasions, délibéré essayer de surprendre aulcunes de nosd: villes pour s'en saisir et dont nous avons advisé vous advertir incontinant, afin que vous aiez à prendre garde à la seureté de nostre ville de Dijon. Mais désirons que vous comportes de façon que, établissant bien la seurté de Dijon, tous noz subjects y puissent vivre en paix ; et que lesd: de la N. O. puissent cognoistre comme notre droite et sincère intention est de contenir tous nos subjetz, de l'une et de l'aultre religion, en seureté et repos soubz notre obéissance. A St Germain en Laye, 27 jour de febvrier, 1574.[1]

CHARLES.

BRUSLARD.'

This letter shows us Charles, a man easily accessible to the nobler emotions, returned to his better self, and from that mind he did not again depart. The only people whose presence he could endure at the end, besides his own saintly wife, were—strange mixture—the gentle and refined Marie Touchet, his old nurse, and his brother-in-law, all Protestants. Charles was a man of real taste ; a good patron of the arts and learning, and he wrote poetry but little inferior to that of Ronsard. He has obtained a forlorn reputation in history for his complicity in the gigantic crime of St. Bartholomew, yet he was the best of the brothers ; and his character was as high as that of most Renaissance princes. If his lot had been cast in a quieter period he would, I think, have obtained no worse fame than that of an eccentric, rather violent, genius—like Ludwig II of Bavaria.

[1] *Arch. mun.*, B, 211, fo. 26.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE COUNT OF CHARNY, 1571–1589, WHICH IS PRESERVED IN THE ARCHIVES MUNICIPALES DE DIJON[1]

No. I

CHARNY TO THE VICOMTE MAJEUR AND ECHEVINS

He requests that his house may have the 'franchise et immunité qui est en doubte, et exempte de touttes impositions; touttefois j'ay entendu que l'on presse mon concierge, ce que je ne puis bonnement croire sur la promesse que m'aves faitte, laquelle je vous prie vouloir entretenir . . . je me racommande à vos bonnes graces priant etc.'[2]

A Bussière sur ouche (?) 19 oct. 1571.

No. II

CHARLES IX TO CHARNY

The King desires him to have a plan of Dijon made and to add a notice of the chief monuments of the town; so that it may be published in the 'Cosmographie de Munster.'[3]

St. Germain en Laye, 16 jan. 1574.

No. III

CHARNY TO DESBARRES, MAYOR OF DIJON

Informs him of the King's commands (*see* Letter No. II), and requests him duly to collect the necessary information.

Pagny, 15 feb. 1574.[4]

[1] Only the more interesting letters are printed in full. Charny's nomina governorship did not end in 1589; but when the League was fairly established in Dijon he had lost all real influence and power. Several of these letters were published by M. Grangier—not always correctly—in 1865, in the *Analecta Divionensia*. They are, however, inaccessible to readers in England.

[2] *Arch. mun. Dijon*, B, 456, p. 4.

[3] *Arch. mun.*, B, 208, p. 26. This plan is reproduced in Hauser's *Site et croissance de Dijon*.

[4] *Arch. mun.*, B, 456, p. 10. Bernard Desbarres, second president (1578), was afterwards a most active Leaguer. Pagny-le-Château is a few miles south of Saint-Jean-de-Losne.

No. IV

Charny to Desbarres

He approves the measures taken for the protection of Dijon, and desires the mayor to watch the intentions of the people of Montbéliard, without making a noise over it. He intends shortly to go to Dijon.

Pagny, 9 march. 1574.[1]

No. V

Charny to the Mayor and Echevins

Je vous ai fait dernièrement entendre la volonté du feu roy touchant son successeur, qui est le roy de Poullogne. Attendant la venue duquel il a plu à la royne sa mère prendre la régence et administration des affaires de ce royaulme ; ainsy vous sçavez par la copie, que je vous envoye, de la letre qu'il a plu à sa majesté m'escripre, qui est de vous admonester de vous conformer toujours à son intention. . . .

Pagny, 16 juin. 1574.[2]

No. VI

Catherine to Charny

Mon Cousin,—Vous aves entendu, par la letre que le feu roy, monsieur mon filz, vous a puis naguère éscript, qu'elle a esté sa dernière volonté pour l'administration des affaires de ceste couronne ; et qu'il a encore voulu confirmer par ses lettres patentes. Depuis il a plu à Dieu l'appeler à soy : et combien que la perte que j'ay faicte en luy de la personne qui m'estoit naturellement la plus chère et recommandée m'atriste et agrave tellement de douleurs que je ne désire rien plus que de remettre et quitter toutes affaires pour chercher quelque tranquillité de vye, néaulmoings vaincue de l'instante prière qu'il m'a faicte par ses derniers propos d'embrasser cest office au bien du roy de Poulongne mon filz, son légitime successeur, et serviteur de ceste dite couronne, à laquelle je recongnois estre tenue de tout ce que l'on m'a départy ; j'ay esté contrainte de me charger encores de lad: administration, et de la régence qu'il a commise, attendant l'arrivée par deça de mond: filz le roy de Poulongne qui sera, comme j'espère, dedans peu de temps, ayant

[1] *Arch. mun.*, B, 211, p. 27.

[2] *Arch. mun.*, B, 456, p. 12.

donné l'ordre de l'advertir incontinent de ce désastre. Je m'asseure que chacun a peu congnoistre le désir que j'ay heu toujours au repos de cest estat, pour à quoy parvenir je n'ay voulu pardonner à aulcune peine, mesmes au danger de ma propre personne. Comme l'on congnoistra encores mieulx par l'ordre, que j'espère donner, à toutes choses durant son absence avec telle modération et par le bon conseil de ceux qui y tiennent les premiers lieux, comme vous, que je me veulx promettre que Dieu fera la grace à ce royaulme d'y éstablir bon repos. Vous pryant pour la bonne dévotion et affection que vous avez toujours fait au bien et conservation d'icelluy, vouloir tenir la main, la part où vous estes, d'obvier à toutes entreprises qui se pourroyent faire pour troubler la tranquilité publicque ; admonestant ceulx de la noblesse et des aultres éstatz de continuer et persévérer au debvoir qu'ilz ont constamment rendu à leurs roys et souveraines, dont ilz sont si recommendables par toutes nations. Vous sçavies que l'intention du feu roy, mond: sieur et filz, a toujours esté de conserver tous ceux qui disposeroient à venir dorésnavant soubz le bénéfice de ses lois et edictz, comme je sçay que telle est la volonté de son successeur ; et je désire que vous facies observer affin de convier ung chacun à rechercher et procurer ce que regarde la réunion en son entier de ce royaulme, comme aussy, vous vous aideres de la force et auctorité que vous aves en main contre touts ceulx qui s'oublieront de tant que de décliner l'obéissance dont ilz sont tenus. De manière qu'ilz soient chastiés et pugnys et les bons observés comme ilz méritent ; priant Dieu, mon cousin, etc.

éscript au chasteau de Vincennes le dernier jour de may 1574.

vostre bonne cousine, CATHERINE.

Mon cousin, je vous prye de faire observer soigneusement ceulx qui sortirons de ce royaulme par les quartiers de vostre gouvernement, sans souffrir qu'il en sorte ung seul, de ceulx qui yront en poste, qu'ilz n'ayent mon passeport. Vous ferez aussy prendre garde à ceulx qui entrerons en ced: royaulme.[1]

No. VII

HENRY III TO CHARNY

Informs him of the escape of the King of Navarre, and orders him to take measures to avoid any surprise in his government.

Paris, 5 feb. 1576.[2]

[1] *Arch. mun*, B, 456. Contemporary copy.
[2] *Arch. mun.*, B, 208, p. 67.

No. VIII

Charny to the Mayor and Echevins

The same subject.

Pagny, 5 oct. 1576.[1]

No. IX

Charny to the Same

Thanking them for their kind sympathy on the death of his second wife.

Pagny, 6 july. 1577.[2]

No. X

Charny to the Same

Requesting the mayor, on the complaint of the 'capitaines des paroisses,' to organise his watch and guard with the least possible discomfort to the inhabitants.

Couches, 6 august. 1577.[3]

No. XI

Charny to the Same

Messieurs,—J'ay présentement receu commandement du roy de faire soignieusement prendre garde aux passages, et toutz aultres endroitz de ce gouvernement, où sa maj: a esté advis que certaine petitte troupe de chevaux passe pour aller en Allemaigne contre son service ; au moyen de quoy je vous prie bien fort de pourvoir aux passages de voz quartiers, de sorte que aulquans gens de chevaux ne passent, ny pareillement à vostre ville sans avoir bon passeport du roy, de mon^sr de Mayenne, ou de moy ; et sans que vous ayes bonne cognoissance et asseurance de ceux qui y vont . . . vous recommandant toujours aussi la conservation du guet et garde de vostre ville, je prie etc.

Pagny, 13 sept. 1577.[4]

No. XII

Charny to the Same

Reports notice from the King of the return of 'Monseigneur son frère.'

Pagny, 21 feb. 1578.[5]

[1] *Arch. mun.*, B, 208, p. 102.
[2] Françoise de Rye. *Arch. mun.*, B, 456, p. 16.
[3] *Idem.*
[4] *Arch. mun.*, B, 456, p. 25.
[5] *Arch. mun.*, B, 456, p. 31.

No. XIII

Charny to the Same

Messieurs,—J'ay esté tres aise d'avoir entendu par les dires de monsieur Coussin, présent porteur, le bon estat de vostre ville, lequel je vous prie d'entretenir toujours de bien en mieux ; et encores que vous aves le service du roy et nostre considération en singulière affection, je ne me puis pas tarder de vous prier de faire bon guet et veiller soignieusement à vostre seureté, pour éviter les pratiques et menées qui essayent pour surprendre des villes en ce gouvernement ; priant etc.[1]

Pagny, 5 aoust. 1580.

No. XIIIa

Charny to the Same

Messieurs,—J'ay bien sceu qu'ung nommé, le capitaine La Fleur, est à présent aux environs de Dijon y pillant avec sa trouppe et mangeant le bonhomme, et que mesmement il va souvent en lad: ville. Je vous prie d'y faire prendre ; et s'il se peult apprehender le faire metre en ung fond de fossé pour estre examplairement chastié comme il mérite. Et davantage vous ferez très bien de metre aux champs quelques hommes choisiz d'icelle ville pour aller, soubz la conduitte d'ung de vos eschevins, tailler en pièces cette canaille là, s'il ne se peuvent saisir et amener à vos prisons : tel exploit servira d'exemple aux autres rodeurs de pays et voleurs rien moins que soldatz. Autant je prie etc.

Paigny, 8 septembre. 1580.

Si j'avois des hommes présentement auprès de moy, outre mon ordinère, je ne vous donnerois la charge de ceste exécution pour le soulagement du peuple, suivant et très agréable à l'intention du roy. J'ordonne par ce mot au prévôt des maréschaulx d'y aller et ses archers avec luy, tant pour la forme de la justice que pour crestre d'autant le nombre de vos hommes.

Les coureurs peuvent de ceste heure estre à Gevrey.[2]

No. XIV

Charny to the Same

He expresses doubt as to whether the disorder in the town, which was complained about by the mayor, was caused by his coach-

[1] *Arch. mun.*, B, 456, p. 63.

[2] *Arch. mun.* B, 456. Gevrey-Chambertin is a small town a few miles south-east of Dijon.

man: 'Qui estoit allé quérir ma fille de Tavannes despuis deux jours; mais, qui que ce soit, je feray cognoistre que je désire que vos portes soyent sarrées, et que je suis encore plus rude et sèvere juge des miens que de toutz aultres, et treuve plus mauvais ung acte sinistre d'ung mien domestique que d'ung éstranger; priant etc.'[1]

Pagny, 1 octobre. 1580.

Je suis encore prins de mes gouttes en la main droite, de sorte qu'il m'est impossible de tenir la plume, ayant esté contraint de commander à Pegorrier de signer la présente à mon déffault.

Par commandement de monseigneur le grand éscuyer.

PEGORRIER.

No. XV

CHARNY TO THE SAME

As soon as he has seen to the defences of Chalons and Seurre he will go to Dijon.

Pagny, 10 oct. 1580.[2]

Postscript.

Je vous prie de faire faire fort bon guet et garde qui sera un moien de faire, peultêtre, déporter ces remueurs de leurs desseignes; il n'est pas qu'en voye dans cinq ou six jours une fin.

No. XVI

CHARNY TO THE SAME

He orders the magistrates to watch and prevent all secret levies of men. He would go to Dijon but for the fact that he knows that town to be strong; whereas the smaller places are weak and at the mercy of a sudden 'coup de main.'

Pagny, 19 oct. 1580.[3]

No. XVII

CHARNY TO THE SAME

Thanking them for the notice of armed levies at Saulieu. All the same, he does not regard them as serious.

Pagny, 24 oct. 1580.[4]

[1] *Arch. mun.*, B, 456, p. 73.
[2] *Arch. mun.*, B, 456, p. 76.
[3] *Arch. mun.*, B, 456, p. 78.
[4] *Arch. mun.*, B, 223, p. 114. Saulieu is between Avallon and Autun.

No. XVIII

Charny to the Same

The gout makes it impossible for him to go at once to Dijon by reason 'des douleurs extrêmes que j'ay souffert, et souffre encore toutz les jours, qui ne me font pas plus griefves que les extortions et violances dont l'on use en l'endroit du pauvre peuple. Je m'aprocheray de vous et me rendray en vostre ville pour essayer tous moyens de donner ordre à ceste furie. . . . Au reste je suis aise que messieurs d'Authun et de Montperreaux, avec le reste des messieurs des estatz, font la première résolution d'envoyer vers le roy pour l'advertir de toutes ces occurrences. Je l'en ay souvent adverty ; mais ce sera bien faict que le pays y envoye, et me semble qu'on n'a que trop tardé.'

Pagny, 3 nov. 1580.[1]

par commandement de monseigneur le grand éscuyer ne pouvant signer.

Pegorrier.

No. XIX

Charny to the Same

Monsieur,—Vous me faites grand plaisir de m'advertir des choses qui se passent en vos quartiers. J'avais desça l'advis qui me donnez, de l'amas de gens que faict le Sr de Précigny : et bien entendu que c'est pour le secours de Genève,[2] toutesfois on ne se peult trop bien asseurer parmi ces remeuments ; et vous prie de faire bon guet afin que, par ce moyen, vous évitiez ces inconveniences où les nonchaillans sont subjects de tomber. Vous y avez du passé tenu un fort bon ordre suivant les commandements que avez eu. J'ai bien ceste asseurance que vous le continuerez, sans y rien innover, si ce n'estoit du bien en mieux. Quant à ces trouppes qui s'avacent sur le Nivernois et en Ostunois[3] elles sont advouées de monseigneur. J'y fais marcher ma compagnie, que j'avois mise du long de la Saône[4] durant le passage des Espagnols et Italiens par le comté, elle y sera incontinent pour y executer ce que j'ay de

[1] *Arch. mun.*, B. 456, p. 82.

[2] The construction of the fortress of Annunziata and other works by the duke of Savoy kept Geneva constantly in alarm.

[3] Country round Autun. Monseigneur is Anjou (Alençon) Elizabeth's friend. He was now recognised as duke of Brabant by the revolted Flemings.

[4] Saône indicated as the frontier line. These troops, whom Charny watched, were reinforcements for Parma.

charge de sa Maj: et garantir le plus qu'il se pourra le pauvre peuple de la foulle de ces gens de guerre. Selon que les affaires torneront je vous advertiray de ce que vous avez affaire, et vous seray au besoing présent : priant etc.[1]

Pagny, 2 aoust. 1582.

No. XX

Charny to the Same

Messieurs,—Maréschal,[2] que j'avais envoié à Bourbon Lancyes devers le roy, me confirma hier à son retour l'advis que j'ay heu d'une entreprise qui se trame sur Dijon et sur Chalon ; si tost que je me seray déschargé du reste de ces trouppes qui passent sur ceste lizière, laquelle je ne puis devant habandonner, je me rendray avec vous pour veiller, tous ensemble, à vostre commune seureté . . . si les trouppes commandées de Mon^srg de Chastillon,[3] tienent la teste de deça elles accroisteront noz suspitions. J'auray du jour un autre advertissement du chemin qu'elles tiendront ; elles estoient lundy dernier aus dessus de Rouanne[4] et sont plus de cinq mil harquebusiers ensemble, ainsi qu'on m'a mandé. J'espère bien, Dieu aydant, vous exempter du mal qui en est à craindre. Je prie etc.

Pagny, 13 septembre. 1582.[5]

No. XXI

The Mayor and Echevins to Charny

Asking the Count what ought to be their attitude in the event of the people of Auxonne refusing to accept M. de Rochefort[6] as governor. Also requesting instructions as to the Huguenots who refuse to attend the Communion.

Dijon, 15 april. 1585.[7]

[1] *Arch. mun.*, B, 456, p. 93.

[2] This man and Pegorrier were Charny's secretaries. Bourbon Lancy is a little east of Moulins.

[3] Eldest son of Coligny. He subsequently played a very noble part at the interview of Plessis-les-Tours, April 1589.

[4] Roanne is on the line from Lyon to Saint-Germain-des-Fossés.

[5] *Arch. mun.*, B, 456, p. 97.

[6] Joachim de Pluvault. He had aided the Auxonnois to seize the rebellious Vicomte de Tavannes—not to be confounded with the royalist Guillaume de Saulx, count of Tavannes—but they refused to accept him as governor.

[7] *Arch. mun.*, B, 457, p. 42.

No. XXII

Charny to the Mayor, Etc.

He reassures the mayor about the Auxonnois: 'Mais il fault peut ployer à la necessité du temps. Je dis aux deputés dud: Auxonne le soupçon qu'on m'avoit voulu metre de leurs volontés; mais ils m'ont juré et protesté là dessus n'avoir jusques ici eu autres résolutions que de se maintenir en l'obéissance de sa Maj: et qu'ilz ne feront jamais choix d'aucun party contraire à son intention, ni au bien de son service. Il en fault voir les effets et tandis ne rien précipiter. Quant aux Huguenots de Is-sur-Thil,[1] que vous m'éscrivez n'avoir à ce dernier jour de Paques fait la communion ni devoir de bons catholiques, il fault le faire entendre aux officiers du baillage de Dijon pour les résoudre de procéder contre eulx et faire en ce cas observer le dernier édict de sa Maj: et s'il fault pour cest effect par après employer quelques forces, j'y pourvoiray le plus tost qu'il se pourra.'

Pagny, 16 avril. 1585.[2]

No. XXIII

Charny to the Same

When the Duke of Guise gives him information as to the movements of the reiters, he will tell the magistrates how to provide for the common defence.

Pagny, 6 december. 1585.[3]

No. XXIV

The Mayor to Charny

More trouble with the Auxonnois[4] who interfere with the free trade of Dijon and the Comté; also praying that a captain, who calls himself La Valette,[5] may be hurried up on his way to the Low Countries and not be allowed to fiddle about the environs of Dijon:

[1] Is-sur-Tille is about seventeen miles north of Dijon.

[2] *Arch. mun.*, B, 456, p. 103. This letter shows no sympathy with the reformed. This fact, which is known from many sources, makes his attitude at St. Bartholomew the more creditable.

[3] *Arch. mun.*, B, 223, p. 114.

[4] The complicated affair of Auxonne hardly comes within our subject. See *Arch. Dep. Dijon*, Register C, 3069.

[5] This phrase would seem to mean that he claimed connexion with the Duc d'Epernon's family.

'Pour faire meilleure diligence à marcher, parcequ'ilz ne font qu'une lieue par jour estant ce jourdhuy sortis de Messigny sont arrivez a Plombières, et ainsi continuent.'

Dijon, mai. 1586.[1]

No. XXV

Charny to the Mayor, etc.

Messieurs,—Il n y a personne qui ayt ung plus juste déplaisir que moy de voir les actions et déportemens de ceulx d'Auxonne estre composés comme ilz sont ; soit pour la consideration du service du roy, du repos général de ce pays, que pour l'indignité qu'ilz m'ont freschement faicte. Cela ensemble est asses suffizante occasion de traicter avec eux comme ennemys ; et touttefois que pourra les ramener à leur debvoir avec douceur, ceste voye est bien plus salutaire que force et violances ; qui ne nous peult prometre que toute désolation. Sa Maj: sera bien particulièrement advertye de l'estat en quoy est led: Auxonne : là dessus elle se pourra résouldre et commander son intention. Mais il ne fault avoir contre eux que le moing d'hostilité de peur de gecter les affaires de ce costé en ung plus dangereux précipice et horrible abysse. Priant etc.[2]

Paigny, 26 mai. 1586.

No. XXVI

Charny to the Same

Advice for the custody and preservation of Dijon.[3]

Pagny, 22 june. 1586.

No. XXVII

The Mayor to Charny

Warning him of a plot to seize Dijon, and imploring him to return to the town.

Dijon, 8 july. 1586.[4]

[1] *Arch. mun.*, B, 457, p. 36. Messigny is a village north of Dijon; Plombières is the first station from Dijon on the line to Paris.

[2] Quite Cecilian in style. *Arch. mun.*, B, 223, p. 199.

[3] *Arch. mun.*, B, 456, p. 106.

[4] *Arch. mun.*, B, 456, p. 112. This plot was chiefly in the imagination of the future notorious Etienne Bernard. He was mayor of Dijon, and deputy at the estates at Blois, 1588. Subsequently Leaguer agent for Burgundy in Paris. His correspondence is voluminous and important for the League.

No. XXVIII

Charny to the Mayor

He regrets that the necessity of the King's service does not allow him to go to Dijon.

Pagny, 8 july. 1586.[1]

No. XXIX

The Mayor to Charny

Warns him of an enterprise which the Huguenots have planned against Dijon, and especially against the castle of Talant.

Dijon, 23 january. 1587.[2]

No. XXX

Charny to the Mayor

There is no real foundation for the rumours which circulate about enterprises of the Huguenots, but it is well to be on one's guard. A good way of discovering if there be any extra lodgers in the houses of Huguenots would be to hold a review of men and stores in general: 'Parceque l'on ne peult honestement praticquer cest expédient sur ceulx de la N. O. qui ont satisfaict à l'édict du roy; et pour les aultres qui y contreviennent la connoissance en doibt appartenir aux baillis, ausquelz j'en ay faict despuis peu de jours une fort expresse déspeche pour procéder contre.

Paigny, 27 janvier. 1587.[3]

No. XXXI

Charny to the Same

Urges them to persevere in their fidelity to the King and would go to Dijon if he were not prevented by catarrh from leaving his house.

Pagny, 18 september. 1588.[4]

[1] *Arch. mun.*, B, 457, p. 14.

[2] *Arch. mun.*, B, 457, p. 151. The mayor for this year was Royhier, a fanatical Leaguer. Talant is one and a half miles west of Dijon. Its position made it of great military importance; the strong castle was razed by Henry IV.

[3] *Arch. mun.*, B, 224, p. 193. Charny, in this letter, shows a distinctly legal mind.

[4] *Arch. mun.*, B, 456, p. 114.

No. XXXII

Montmoyen[1] to Monsieur de Fervaques

Monsieur,—Je ne vous ay point écrit depuis mon départ d'auprèz de vous pour ce qu'il ne s'en est présenté aucun suget; et pour ceste heure n'en ay pas encore beaucoup, sinon que l'autre jour l'on m'advertit que Mr le grand avoit reççu pacquet et commandement pour faire sommer toutes les places de Bourgogne. Et sur cela j'ay estimé qu'il estoit besoing de sçavoir de vous la résponce que vous treuverez bon: vous me la manderez, s'il vous plait, affin que je ne sois point surpriz. . . . Toutes choses sont en bon éstat en ceste ville, Dieu mercy; je fais toujours travailler céans et fère mettre cette semaine céans les munitions que Monseigneur[2] a ordonné y estre mises. Monsieur, je prie etc.

Beaune, 30 janvier. 1589.[3]

No. XXXIII

Charny to the Mayor

Thanks him for his kind sentiments and regrets the rebellion and desolation of the province: 'Je suis touttesfois fort aise que le remuement que vous m'escrivez soit passé sans viollences et meutre; car ceste voye est plus fructueuse et digne du nom de créstien que nous portons. Je suplie sur ce, etc.'

Pagny, 27 avril, 1589.[4]

Charny's attitude after the murder of Henry III is interesting. The estates (leaguer) held in August 1589 recognised the Cardinal de Bourbon as true and legitimate king. Accordingly, deputies were sent to Charny to inquire into his attitude and require him to recognise 'Charles X.'

[1] Edmond de Regnier seigneur de Montmoyen, an honest Leaguer in charge of Beaune for ten years until its capture by marshal Biron, 1595. Guillaume de Hautemer baron de Fervaques. Mayenne made members of the minor nobility lieutenants-general in Burgundy; of these, Fervaques was the first. He was the typical intriguing leaguer with a foot in each camp, ever with an eye on his own advantage. This letter is important as showing how much depended on Charny and how weakly he discharged his office.

[2] Mayenne.

[3] *Arch. mun.*, B, 458, p. 175.

[4] *Arch. mun.*, B, 457, p. 49. Charny, by his persistence in stopping at Pagny, had by this time let all power at Dijon escape his hands. The letter is kindly and humane, as we should expect.

Charny's reply was ironical and impossible of acceptance, although given in the suavest manner possible.

Since the parlement and Mayenne had recognised Charles X, he would be glad if His Majesty, if he could be found and was free, would confirm his appointment. Charny further required payment for his troops at the country's expense, and sundry towns to be given him as security. Unless all this were granted he would prefer to live quietly at Pagny, considering his age and services.[1] This is amusing, but shows no high conception of his duties as governor.

At Pagny the Count continued to live, watching events, but inactive, until an event occurred in March 1595 which sent him to St. Jean de Losne.

'L'armée spagnolle est au Comté. On fait courir un bruit qu'elle avoit pillé la basse cour de Pagny ; sur quoy marri M. le comte de Charny et ayant eu crainte, et non sans cause, se retira à St Jean de Losone.'[2]

This affair was also referred to during the estates (royalist) at Semur. Inquiries were made into the pillage of the farm-yard at Pagny by La Fortune,[3] and demands for explanation were sent to the baron de Lux.[4]

Charny's immobility at Pagny, both before and at the outbreak of the League at Dijon, is curious and the reasons for his inaction belong to the field of pure conjecture. Possibly the family interests, and especially those of his married daughters, made him afraid to take any strong line ; possibly, good Catholic as he was, he may not have felt quite easy in serving a heretic, although too royalist to act against him. Perhaps the simplest explanation is the best—that feeling old and broken in health, he had no heart to actively pursue his duties as governor. It is abundantly clear that he was never a man of much energy and disliked responsibility.

[1] *Arch. Dép. Dijon*, C, 3069, p. 286.

[2] *Journal de Breunot.* MS., not original, *Bib. mun.*, and published 1866.

[3] Girolamo Rossi, an Italian captain. For the soldiers of fortune during the League, see Drouot's *Notes sur la ligue en Bourgogne.*

[4] Edme de Malain. He changed sides three times ; after 1593, he was finally on the King's side. *Arch. Dép.*, C, 3073, p. 171.

The de la Balle Family of Guînes.

By WILLIAM MINET, F.S.A.

When Israel came up out of Egypt it was as a united tribe; they left no regrets and no relatives behind them. Far otherwise was it with the Huguenots. It is clear that under the strain of persecution every family must have been broken up, some members preferring exile to the sacrifice of their faith, others conforming for the sake of this world's goods.

Often before, in papers read to this Society, we have studied the flight of some Huguenot family from France, and have followed its later fortunes in England; seldom, if ever, have we been able to trace the effects of the resultant disruption, or to follow the intercourse which must nearly always have continued between the exiles and the brethren left behind them, during the years following the Revocation.

Chance has now brought to my hands a series of papers relating to the de la Balle family of Guînes, which, supplemented by the Registers of the Church of Guînes, enable one vividly to realise what took place in a family some members of which conformed, while some, continuing to be Protestant, came over to England. The story of this family can be followed for a period of 185 years, that is from 1598 to 1783, at which latter date it is evident that close relations still existed between its English and French branches.

The main story centres round Louis de la Balle, whose long life extended over eighty-eight years. Born in 1670, at the date of the Revocation he was too young to exercise an independent judgment, and we are not, therefore, surprised to see the lad remaining on in France with his father who conformed, though his aunt with her husband and children came

to England. It is however curious, and a testimony to the abiding strength of the Huguenot faith, to find that in each of the two generations succeeding Louis, several members follow the example of so many of their ancestors of 1685, and come to England. This fact, even if it stood alone, would prove that Louis remained at heart a Protestant, and kept alive the tenets of the old faith in the hearts of his children and grandchildren ; but when we realise that Louis himself at the age of seventy-three took the same course, the theory is doubly proved, though we may marvel at the workings of conscience in a man of such declining years.

'Guînes était la demeure ordinaire de tous mes ancêtres depuis environ 150 ans, et l'endroit où ils réunissaient leur bien et leur fortune,' writes Noé de la Balle in 1753, and we can confirm his statement from the registers which give 1598 as the birth year of Daniel, the ancestor of the family, as far as we can trace it. Daniel's wife was Judith Durieu (*d.* September 7, 1676) and he himself died in 1680.[1] Five generations of the family continued at Guînes down to 1783, when I lose sight of them ; and all were engaged in the business of brewers, tanners, and wood merchants.

Daniel died before the Revocation, leaving three children to face the problem which he had escaped. Of these, Judith, a widow (her husband Abraham du Ponchel having died in the same year as his father-in-law), remained on, and must have conformed. Suzanne, her sister, had married (1669) Pierre Ouenne,[2] and, with her husband and six children, chose the better part, since we find them later at Canterbury.[3] Jean, the only son, had married twice, first Marie Françoise de Zoutte, and second Margueritte Caullet ; both his wives were Protestant and his eleven children were all baptised in the same faith

[1] All dates of birth, marriage or death, I am able to give between 1668–1685, are taken from vol. iii. of our *Publications*, which has been of invaluable assistance in reconstructing the family. Any entry in these Registers of course implies that the subject of it was Protestant.

[2] A variant of the name is Hovinne. In England it becomes Houyne ; and, later, Winn.

[3] Suzanne, a daughter, marries Firmin Loste in 1698 (*cf. Canterbury Registers*).

(1668–1682). Evidently he conformed, but possibly for this very reason he did not find himself happy at Guînes, and in 1689 he contemplates moving to Lille. The 'nouveaux convertis' were in those times closely watched, and change of domicile needed official permission. The document in which Jean applies for this, evidences his Catholicism. Addressed to the 'Majeur Conseil et huit hommes de Lille' it sets out that Jean and his wife Margueritte and his three children[1] wish to live at Lille, 'des biens que le bon Dieu leur a prété dans ce monde dont ils ont une bonne partie'; to this petition is joined 'copie authentique d'un certificat donné du Curé de Guînes par lequel se voit que les remonstrants sont vrayement Catholiques.'

The petition was granted, but either Jean never availed himself of it or returned almost at once to Guînes, for on April 12th, 1690, he and his sister Judith du Ponchel petition, with success, to have adjudged to them certain property formerly belonging to their sister Suzanne Ouenne 'retiré et absente du pays à cause de la R.P.R. dont elle fait profession et que par son évasion elle a delaissé et abandonné.' The property which is fully set out in the petition, had devolved on Suzanne as her share of her father's estate at his death in 1680.

This proceeding was carried out in accordance with a decree of 1690. This decree was part of the general scheme of persecution which, beginning in 1656 and centring round the Revocation, continued down to about 1760, when the growing spirit of toleration, due to the influence of Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, may be said to have put an end to it.

Human nature is, happily, stronger than governments, decrees, and persecutions, and the story of this de la Balle family illustrates this point well; we may be sure that there were many families torn asunder by persecution in which the same thing happened. The conforming members who remained in France availed themselves of the law and obtained possession of the property of their fugitive brethren; but some private arrangement was come to, by which the proceeds

[1] Pierre, Louis and Isaac. The other seven were apparently all dead, though I can only trace the deaths of four.

were remitted to their former owners in their land of exile. Probably also, in many cases, the officials themselves were well aware of the existence of these quasi-collusive arrangements, and were willing enough to assist in carrying them out, if only by shutting their eyes.

In 1697 Louis, one of Jean's four surviving children, marries at the age of twenty-seven, and full details are preserved for us in the marriage contract. These deeds are of the highest genealogical value, as each party is accompanied by a host of relations, whose kinship is set forth in full detail.

Louis de la Balle is accompanied by—

'son père et de Margueritte Caullet belle mère au dit Louis, d'Isaac son frère, de Judicque sa tante veuve d'Abraham du Ponchel, de Jean Bardin, cannonier de Calais, cousin germain du dit de la Balle père à cause de Suzanne Leclerc sa femme, d'Isaac Sigard, marchand à Calais, cousin germain au dit future marian du côté maternel, à cause de Sara Six sa femme; de Pierre de Zoutte, marchand tanneur à Guînes, son cousin germain du côté maternel; de Suzanne Ballin, veuve d'Abraham Blanquart, sa cousine du côté paternel.'

The bride was Suzanne Francomme, born, like her husband, a Protestant. She was supported by an equal number of relations; and it may be noted here that all the names occurring in the two lists are those of former Protestants, and may all be found and the relationships confirmed by the Guînes Registers.[1]

We need not concern ourselves with the property settled on the young couple; one quaint phrase may, however, be extracted—Jean, the bridegroom's father covenants, inter alia, 'de vétir et habiller son fils pour le jour de ses noces comme il en voudra avoir l'honneur,' while the bride's mother agrees in much the same form as regards her daughter, 'la vétir

[1] The bride's family was an old one in the district, and can be traced back to her great grandfather, Jehan Francomme of Guînes who died before 1626. Her grandfather married in that year Marie Allart, and that marriage settlement, which is in my possession, coupled with the one we are now considering, supplies material to construct a complete Francomme pedigree covering the whole of the seventeenth century. Some of the family are found at Dover after the Revocation (*Registers of the French Church at Dover.* F. A. Crisp. 1888).

habiller et amésnager et luy bailler un lict pour le jour de ses noces, comme elle en voudra avoir l'honneur.'

In the absence of any registers we cannot be sure when Jean de la Balle, the bridegroom's father, died, but it must have been before 1711 as appears by a deed of that year settling certain family differences concerning money matters. The details of this quarrel are of little interest, but Louis, with two of his brothers, Pierre and Isaac, claim from Judith du Ponchel their aunt a sum of 2658 livres 7 sols 2 deniers, due from her late husband Abraham and herself to the estate of their late father Jean. The claim is settled by the transfer of certain real property.

Four sons of Jean were surviving at this date, and any claim their father's estate might have had, should, under the law of succession, have been made by all of them. A document of 1713, however, explains why Jean, the eldest, is not joined with his three brothers in the action brought against their aunt Judith, for it shows us that Jean must have come to England, where he was then living. This fact is of double interest; first as evidence that the Huguenot spirit yet lived on in the de la Balle family, and secondly as affording some explanation of the reason which drew Louis himself in later years, with two of his children and a grandchild, to England.

I quote such portions of the deed of 1713 as have interest for our present purpose:

'Jean de la Balle marchand tanneur demeurant à Douvres, logé chez Pierre de la Balle son frère demeurant en cette ville (i.e. Guînes) Rue Raymond, dit de la Teste d'or, héritier par quart de deffunt Jean de la Balle aussi marchant tanneur à Guînes et de Françoise de Zoutte a vendu à Louis de la Balle un quart d'une maison, tannerie, situé à Guînes, comme aussi sa part et quart dans la marque des cuirs de prudhomme audit Guînes, procédants du chef des dits deffunts Jean de la Balle et de laditte Françoise de Zoutte. Cette vente faite moyennant dix sols de denier à Dieu aux pauvres pour le vin du marché, et de deniers principaux 900 livres.'

There can be no doubt from this, that Jean was brother of Louis, and one of the four surviving sons of their father Jean,

though his birth is not found in the Guînes registers as are those of all his nine brothers and sisters ; it is clear, however, from a comparison of these later entries, that he must have been born before 1668 when the registers commence. It is a little strange that we find no trace of him in the church books at Dover, which extend from 1686 to 1731, seeing that he was living there in 1713 ; the only de la Balle entry Dover gives us, is the 'reconnoissance' of a Daniel of Guînes, said to be a son of Jean, in 1686.

Louis was more and more centring in himself the business, and the wealth of the family. By 1719 he had bought out his brother Pierre as well as his brother Jean's share, and only Isaac was left as his partner in their father's inheritance. Isaac dies in this year and Louis purchases from his widow, Louise de Neufville, who sells on her own behalf, as well as on that of her infant children, certain premises, which seem to have been convenient and necessary for carrying on the tanning business. The deed by which this arrangement was carried out is full of minute detail, but while it is difficult to form a just opinion, the general impression left on one's mind is that Louis' interests did not suffer in the transaction.

It is evident that Isaac, who had just died at the age of forty-three, had not met with his brother Louis' success in life, and in 1720 Judith du Ponchel, his aunt, recognises this by a deed of gift to Louise and her infant children :

'pour la bonne amitié qu'elle leur porte et pour les donner lieu de vivre plus commodément, attendu le décès arrivé de leur père, elle leur fait donnation au jour du décès de laditte Judith de tous les biens appartenants à laditte Judith pour les partager également avec les héritiers collatéraux de laditte Judith.' [They would not have to wait long for their legacy to judge from the final words of the deed], 'Judith a fait sa marque, qu'elle a dit ne pouvoir écrire à cause de sa viellesse et débilité.'

The year of her birth is not known, but it would seem that she was over eighty at this date. Her death closes the record of her generation, and for the next twenty two years documentary evidence fails us, and we can only dimly discern

Louis carrying on with increasing success the tanning and brewing business, and filling, as befitted a burgher in his position, the offices of 'marguiller' and 'receveur des pauvres de Guînes.' Of his brother Pierre we hear no more, except that his son Jean Noé and a daughter Marie Marguerite appear for a moment in 1768.

Louis had married Suzanne Francomme in 1697, and four children were born to them, two sons and two daughters. Of these François and Suzanne must have come to England; when is not exactly known, but both were living in London in 1742, and Suzanne had then been married for some time to Thomas Wright, described in 1768 as 'mathématicien de Sa Majesté Britannique.'[1] François had been over in Guînes in 1742 and on his return to London writes back to his brother there. The letter is worth quoting from, as evidence of the affectionate relations existing between the two branches of the family:

'Ma soeur a reçu Noiret avec les larmes aux yeux. Elle luy a fait d'abord présent d'une joly paire de boucles à souliers et à jartiers. Je luy ai dit aussy que cela te ferait grand plaisir d'aprendre qu'elle serait aussy bien intentionné pour ceux de France que ceux de France sont intentionné pour elle. . . . Le Noir sy contens d'être icy qui saute de joye.'

It is clear that François must have taken a child, known by the pet name of 'Noiret,' back with him from Guînes, and that this child had been received by Mrs. Wright, his sister, with great affection. I think there can be no doubt but that the child was their niece, Marie Louise, who must have been about eleven at this date, a daughter of Pierre Lenoir and grandchild to Louis. Marie Louise was certainly in England later, remaining there and marrying there, when we shall hear a good deal about her. True, the sex of the child is not quite clear from the letter, but I suggest that the nature of the presents made entitles us to assume that they were to a girl.

We now come to a crisis in the life of Louis de la Balle

[1] Possibly the Thomas Wright, mathematical instrument maker (1711–1786) of whom a sketch will be found in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

which offers a problem wellnigh insoluble. The facts stand out clearly enough, but the inner motives prompting the actions we can only conjecture. He was seventy-three years of age, a time of life when a man's conscience is apt to be somewhat dulled; for fifty-eight of those years he had been a conforming Catholic; his wife was dead; with his son and son-in-law he carried on a large and successful business in Guînes. Suddenly and secretly he determines to come to London. A son and a daughter had been established and married there for some time, evidently as Protestants—a somewhat curious fact, seeing that they had both been baptised and brought up as Catholics. We must assume the old man had never forgotten the faith of his own early years, that he had encouraged two of his children as well as a grandchild to join it, and that, feeling his life's work done, he determined himself to revert to it.

We learn of his flight in two ways; from letters and from a document he left behind him—the latter a most extraordinary paper, which must be read in conjunction with the letter, and to which I shall refer presently. He left Guînes in August, 1743 (September, according to the new style, then adopted in France), as we hear from a letter written by François, his son, from London (August 29, 1743) to his brother Noé at Guînes:

'Mon chère père est arrivé à Londres, grace au Seigneur, après avoir été quatre jours sur le vaisseau, qui l'a fatigué beaucoup. Il m'a dit de vous écrire cecy pour vous tirer d'inquiétude. Si il ne vous a rien communiqué de son départ c'est que son cœur ne luy a jamais permis et [il se] seroit exposé à verser des larmes audessus de ses forces. Il n'a autre chose à vous recommander que la bonne fraternité l'un envers l'autre, et de tacher de vous faire aimer comme il a été.'

We learn from this that his plan had not been communicated to anyone at Guînes; and the last sentence, confirmed as it is by a later letter, makes it clear that he never intended to return. The old man himself writes to Guînes in December of the same year, sending over two sirloins of beef to his son and

son-in-law, and asking for a portmanteau to be sent to him. The letter contains several acute business remarks, and he begs to be remembered to many friends, among them 'Monsieur le curé de Guînes et Monsieur de Pignant; je regrette bien son sidre, car je ne peux pas boire icy de vin, ny de forte bière, quand j'en bois cela me fait enfler la jembe.' He had evidently foreseen that after his departure his son and his son-in-law would not work well together in the business, and the next letter to his son shows that his fears were well founded. On August 26, 1744, he acknowledges a letter from Noé, which had informed him that Noé and Lenoir had agreed to a dissolution of the partnership: 'Je vous connois,' says the father, 'pas assez commode pour vous accommoder avec Lenoir, ny avec d'autre en fait de société'; and he adds a word of caution, which events proved to be wise: 'j'apréhende pourtant que quand on verra que vous ferez partage, et que l'on verra vous séparer que cela ne fasse connaitre que je n'ay pas envie de revenir en France; le roy pourrait bien faire confisquer ce qui m'appartient; c'est a vous de prendre vos mesures la dessus.' The disagreement, the old man clearly realises, was due to his son's character. 'J'ai été étonné,' he goes on, 'quand j'ai appris que vous vous étiez mis sur le pied de faire tout de votre tête dans la maison sans en rien communiquer à Lenoir, ce n'est pas de cette manière là que vous devez agir avec un honnête homme.'

This letter, written twelve months after his departure from Guînes, is the more extraordinary, when we know that he had left a packet there on his departure with instructions that it was only to be opened eighteen months later. It was actually opened in April 1745, nineteen months later, and is among the papers preserved to us. The contents show clearly, as we shall see, that Louis had foreseen that differences would arise between his son and son-in-law and had attempted as far as possible to provide against them. These differences having arisen, why, knowing what the unopened packet contained, did he not refer to it in his letters? However, things at Guînes were patched up and went on till April 1745, when the differences became acute—and the packet was opened. The story is a

romance, and the paper contained in the packet must be left to speak for itself. It bears the heading, and this is not the least part of the mystery :

TESTAMENT DE FEU MR. LOUIS DE LA BALLE.

Pardevant les nottaires royaux, gardenottes héréditaires, establis et résidents à Calais et pays reconquis en l'étude de Lebœuf l'un des dits nottaires soussignés est comparu Monsieur Maitre Jean Baptiste Mallet, Seigneur de Bresme, Ophore et autres lieux, Conseiller du roy, Lieutenant particulier au siège royal dudit Calais, y demeurant. Lequel nous a dit et déclaré que la surveille des fêtes de Noel dernier, rentrant chez lui, à huit heures du soir, il s'est présenté à lui une femme ou fille de médiocre stature couverte d'un capat dont l'obscurité lui a empêché de distinguer la couleur ainsi que les traits de laditte personne, laquelle l'attendait vraysemblablement, puisqu'elle lui a remis un paquet en main, après quoy elle s'est retiré assez promptement, ce qui a d'autant moins étonné ledit Sieur comparant qu'il en reçoit quelques fois de semblables de la part de quelques pauvres familles honteuses, cause pourquoi il ne s'est pas mis en peine d'examiner de plus près la messagère. Mais, étant entré dans sa salle, et ayant jeté les yeux sur ledit pacquet qui était cacheté comme il l'est encore de quatre cachets de pain petits rouge à chanter[1] en forme de lettre. Il n'a pas été peu surpris de voir que la subscription d'iciluy était écrit et signé de la main du Sieur Louis de la Balle, marchant tanneur demeurant au bourg de Guisnes et étant de présent en Angleterre. Laquelle subscription est conçu mot pour mot ainsy qu'il ensuit :

> Ce papier que j'ay confié à un ami, et qui contient ma volonté pour régler mes enfans, si les cas qui y sont exprimés arrivent, sera rendu tout cachetté par cet ami à Monsieur de Bresme, Lieutenant Générale de Calais, qui en fera l'ouverture et la lecture en presence de mon fils et de mon gendre, et aura la bonté de veiller à son exécution quinze mois après la datte des présentes, deux Septembre 1743.

Est signé 'de la Balle.' A de plus déclaré ledit Sieur comparant qu'il était à la veille de mettre ledit pacquet au dépost, pour l'usage des parties interessées, mais que peu de jours après lesdits festes les Sieurs Lenoir et Noé de la Balle, gendre et fils dudit Sieur Louis de la Balle absent, iciluy Pierre Lenoir tuteur des enfans

[1] Wafers. A very curious derivation. Cf. Littré, s.v. Chanter.

mineurs de luy et de femme Marie Anne de la Balle vinrent de concert inviter ledit Sieur comparant à diner, et luy parurent tous deux dans des sentimens réciproques et mesmes disposition l'un que l'autre, et si favorables à la paix et à l'union que leur père absent leur recommandoit de temps en temps par ses lettres, qu'il crut plus convenable de les laisser accorder entre eux de gré à gré plûtot que de leur opposer les ordres d'un père qui contiendroient quelques clauses qui pourroient géner l'un ou l'autre, et servir d'obstacle à la conciliation.

Dans cette pensée ledit Sieur comparant a gardé le silence sur ledit escrit en attendant toujours l'éffet des promesses que l'un et l'autre faisoient d'en venir à un accommodement volontaire.

Mais ledit Sieur comparant ayant apris depuis quelques jours, qu'à l'instigation de quelques mauvais esprits lesdits Sieurs Lenoir et de la Balle s'écartoient tout-à-fait des voies pacifiques jusqu'à la mesnées, qu'il s'est passé entre eux des circonstances qui donnent lieu de craindre que l'on en vienne à des extrémités ruineuses pour l'un ou pour l'autre. Il juge à propos qu'il est enfin temps de prévenir le mal en mettant au jour l'écrit dont il est question, comme propre à servir de loi respectable à la famille. Et c'est par cette considération qu'il a actuellement remis ès mains de Lebœuf l'un desdits soussignés nottaires ledit pacquet cachetté, et en tel état qu'il l'a reçu, pour par ledit Maistre Lebœuf le mettre au rang de ses minuttes, et d'en servir par les parties ainsy qu'elles aviseront bon estre après que lecture et ouverture en aura esté faitte par ledit Sieur comparant en présence des dits Sieurs Noé de la Balle et Pierre Lenoir, et iceux deuement appellés, et nous, à ledit Sieur comparant, requis acte de ce que dessus que nous luy avons accordé. après que ledit pacquet a esté par ledit sieur comparant et les nottaires soussignés, paraphé des deux cottés, ne varietur, et a le dit Sieur comparant signé avec nous, après lecture par luy faitte sur les trois à quatre heures de relevée du 10e jour d'Avril 1745, audit Calais, et nous a déclaré l'avoir trouvé conforme à ce qu'il nous a déclaré, et a signé sur la minute des présentes, restée à Leboeuf l'un desdits nottaires après qu'elle a estée controllée audit Calais par de Sonsdeval qui a recu 12 sols pour ses droits. Aussy signé, Mallet de Bresme, Baudier, et Leboeuf, nottaires, avec paraphe.

Et le 14e desdits mois et an, sur les midy, sont comparus pardevant lesdits nottaires, et en l'étude susdite, les sieurs Noé de la Balle et Pierre Lenoir, fils et gendre dudit Louis de la Balle ; en présence desquels, moi Leboeuf, l'un des nottaires soussignés, ay mis le susdit pacquet entre les mains de mondit Sieur de Bresme,

aussy présent et comparant, lequel, l'ayant exhibé et fait voir auxdits Sieurs Noé de la Balle et Pierre Lenoir, les a requis déclarer s'ils reconnoissoient la subscription pour être de l'écriture et signature dudit Sieur de la Balle.

Ont declaré unanimement qu'ils la reconnoissoient pour telle. Ledit Sieur de Bresme à leur vue a rompu les quatre cachets et fait ouverture dudit pacquet, dans lequel s'est trouvé une dernière oeuille de papier escritte au long, dont la première page, signé Louis de la Balle, contient 45 lignes, non-compris laditte signature, et la seconde 7 lignes : et s'est trouvé la première desdittes deux pages barrée de quatre traits en marge, de cotté, et de trois traits en marge d'en bas : et ayant ledit Sieur de Bresme pareillement exhibé la ditte feuille auxdits Sieurs de la Balle et Lenoir, ils l'ont également reconnu pour estre ecritte dudit Sieur Louis de la Balle.

Ce fait, ledit Sieur de Bresme, presence que dernier, a fait lecture audit escrit à haute et intelligible voix. Après laquelle lecture a esté ledit escrit paraphé sur lesdittes deux pages, ne varietur, tant par ledit Sieur de Bresme que ledit Sieur Lenoir, ledit Sieur de la Balle ayant esté refusant de parapher, ny signer notre proces verbal : de quoy ledit Sieur de Bresme nous a requis acte que luy avons octroyé avec ledit Sieur Pierre Lenoir, ledit Sieur de Bresme nous ayant remis ledit escrit et son envelope. Sur la minute des presentes, restée à Leboeuf, l'un desdits nottaires soussignés, a signé Baudier et Leboeuf nottaires avec paraphes, et controllé à Calais par de Sonsdeval le 27e dudit mois et an, qui a reçu 360 *l.* pour ses droits.

S'ensuit la teneur de l'écrit mentionné aux actes cy-avant transcript.

> J'ay, soussigné Louis de la Balle, marchant demeurant au bourg de Guisne, sentent que les infirmitées dont je suis attaquée depuis environ deux ans augmentent de jour en jour, et le changement d'air m'ayant été proposé par les médecins comme un remède propre à dissiper et à ranimer mon tempérament, je me suis résolu à suivre leur conseil, d'autant plus volontiers qu'ayant quelques affaires à regler en Angleterre et l'air de ce pays là étant beaucoup plus pur et plus tempéré que celuy de nos marécages, je croy ne pouvoir mieux faire pour ma santé et mes intérests que d'en faire le voyage. Mais comme il pourroit arriver qu'il plaise à Dieu de disposer de moy avant mon retour, et que la disention se glisse entre mes héritiers ; ou même que mes incommoditées, mon age, la guerre, ou tel autre incident ne me permette pas de repasser

la mer aussitôt que j'en ay le dessin ; j'ay cru, pour la tranquilité de ma famille devoir laisser le présent écrit entre les mains d'un amy qui ne veut pas être nommé pour ne pas s'attirer quelques reproches désobligeans de la part de l'un ou de l'autre de mes héritiers, qui repugneroit à mes intentions. Lequel amy m'a donné parolle, en cas seulement que je sois absent plus de quinze mois, de remettre ledit écrit entre les mains de Monsieur de Bresme, Lieutenant Général de Calais, ancien amy commun de toutes les personnes qui m'appartiennent. Lequel Sieur je prie instament de veiller et tenir la main à l'entier execution d'iciluy, et d'ayder mes héritiers de ses conseils et de son arbitrage ; leur laissant néantmoins toute liberté de luy associer tout autres arbitres que chacun d'eux jugera à propos à l'effet du partage que je leur permets, et mesme que je les exhorte à faire, à la seule et première réquisition de l'un d'entre eux, de tous mes biens, meubles et immeubles généralement quelconques de quelque nature qu'ils se trouvent existans, se rendant mutuellement compte l'un à l'autre lors dudit partage, tel que chacun d'eux aura recu en capital et tiré profit d'iciluy, desduction faite des frais de la régie, le tout à compte du jour de mon départ, que j'espère, Dieu aydant, devoir estre le 4e de ce mois. Duquel partage ainsy fait après les quinze mois de mon absence, si tant elle dure, ils pourront chacun en droits, entrer en pleine propriété ; auquel je me reserve qu'une pension viagère de 800*l.* par eux payables par quartiers et d'avance, exempté de toutes charges, qui commencera à courir et avoir lieu du jour de mon débarquement en France : cette somme me paroissant suffisante, avec le logement que je me reserve pareillement audit cas de retour, telle qu'il exige[1] maintenant, pour couler en paix le reste de mes jours. Et sera ledit partage fait en deux portions égalles, suivant la coustume par le ministère desdits arbitres et experts, homologué en justice, sur l'avis des parens, à cause de la minorité d'une partie de mesdits héritiers, bien qu'aucun d'eux, mesme mon fils Noé qui fait seul pour moitie, ne pourra contracter ni prendre engagement par mariage avant la confection et consommation dudit partage, afin d'éviter les discussions qui naitroyent infailliblement de la confusion des communautées. Je veut et entend au surplus qui sy avant ou mesme avant ou mesme après ledit partage il se presente à titre légale et

[1] *Sic;* 'existe' would make better sense.

légitime quelqu'uns de mes héritiers autre que ledit Noé de la Balle mon fils et les enfans du Sieur Pierre Lenoir mon gendre, il luy soit fait raison de sa juste part et portion par mesdits fils et gendre, chacun d'eux y contribuant pour moitié, car telle est ma dernière volonté, revoquant toute autre antécédante à la présente.

Ce que j'ay fait et escrit de ma main en mon particulier à Guisne le 2e jour de Septembre 1743.

Est signé Louis de la Balle, le tout escrit en deux pages, qui ont estés paraphés et signés de mon dit Sieur de Bresme et du Sieur Pierre Lenoir ; et paraphé, ne varietur, des soussignés nottaires et sur l'envelope dudit escrit est escrit ce qui suit :

Ce papier que j'ay confié à un amy et qui contient ma volonté pour régler mes enfans, si les cas qui y sont exprimés arrivent sera rendu tout cachetté par cette amy à Monsieur de Bresme, Lieutenant Général de Calais, qui en faira l'ouverture en présence de mon fils et de mon gendre, et aura la bonté de veiller à son exécution quinze mois après la datte présente 2e Septembre 1743.

Est signé Louis de la Balle, paraphé laditte adresse des deux cottés dudit Sieur de Bresme, et sont auxdits deux pages les paraphes, ne varietur, desdits soussignés nottaires. Et est le dit escrit controllé et insinué à Calais par de Sonsdeval le 27e Avril 1745, qui a reçu pour le tout 360*l.* sans préjudice aux droits de centiesme déniers pour les immeubles, chef dudit Sieur de la Balle.

LEBOEUF.
BAUDIER.

I have printed this document in full for many reasons. First, it appeals to the lawyer as a perfect example, in its meticulous accuracy of detail, of a deed of that date, of what is known in French as a 'procès verbal.' Next, the romance of its handing over at eight o'clock on a dark winter's night by a veiled female to the Seigneur de Bresme, recalls to one's mind the mysterious lady of the 'Greenmantle' of 'Redgauntlet.' Finally, the fact that a person occupying the Seigneur de Bresme's official position, Lieutenant-General of the Calaisis, should have been chosen by Louis de la Balle as his confidant in a matter, not only of delicate family diplomacy, but involving, as the law then was, possible danger to property, is strong evidence of the standing Louis must have held in the district

at the time of his flight to England. Of both these latter points we shall find full evidence within ten years, when Louis' estate is attacked on the ground that he is a fugitive Huguenot, and the attack is met by calling in the support not only of de Bresme himself, but of all those who stood next to him in political and social hierarchy of Calais.

Apart from the singularity attending its execution and production, this document, considered in its legal aspect, is a most curious one. Called 'Testament de feu M. Louis de la Balle' it may have been intended to have had effect as such, had Louis died. Seeing that he survived until 1758, the endorsement, which must have been put on it in 1745, appears a misnomer. Its practical effect, when acted upon, was that of a *donatio inter vivos*, and that Louis intended it to have this effect is clear from the reservation to himself of an annuity, as well as of a lodging, in case he should return to France. Another point to note is this; he distributes his property in two shares between his son Noé and his son-in-law Pierre Lenoir, and makes no mention of his other two children François and Suzanne. Both were Protestants; both had fled to England; and we may assume that the old man was fully aware that any disposition he might have made in their favour, would, as the law then was, have been of no effect. The careful provision, that any other heirs beyond Noé and Pierre who might put in a claim, were to be considered, seems to show that he had contemplated the possibility of his two other children returning to France.

A slight discrepancy in dates is to be noticed. The paper is dated by Louis, September 2nd, 1743, at Guînes, where he must have left it, but we know from his son François' letter, cited above (p. 105), that he had just arrived in London, after four days at sea, on August 29, 1743. The explanation would seem to be, that the document is dated in accordance with the New Style, then followed in France, whereas the letter conforms to the Old Style, still in use in England. It was handed to de Bresme on December 23, 1744, and opened by him on April 14, 1745.

The occasion of its opening was the ill-feeling existing

between Noé and Pierre. So strong do we know this to have been, both from Louis' letters to his son as well as from what de Bresme tells us, that we are not surprised to learn that the good advice contained in the document was of no avail. They determined to carry out the partition authorised by the deed, which they did at once in this same year 1745.

The methods by which this partition was carried out are detailed in a deed recording it, dated September 21, 1745. The wording of this document, which must be taken as carrying out the division of the property transferred by the 'Testament', is curious, for it speaks of 'les immeubles delaissés par Louis de la Balle,' a term which can only be translated by 'abandoned.' The property consisting of houses and land is fully set out in two parcels, A. said to be worth 8000*l.* (£350) and B. 6700*l.* (£293 2*s.* 6*d.*), and the parties agree to draw lots for A. and B., whoever draws A. to pay 1300*l.* (£56 17*s.* 6*d.*) for equality of exchange. The letters A. and B. are written on two pieces of paper:

'lesquels bien pliés, roulés, et remués dans un chapeau par plusieurs et differentes fois auroient été tirés par un enfant passant par la rue autant inconnu aux parties qu'à nous-dits nottaires appelés à cet effet. Et ayant tiré le premier desdits lots audit chappeau, a été convenu être pour ledit Noé de la Balle, qui par le deploy fait dudit billet se trouvait être le premier lot marque A.'

Noé duly pays over 1300*l.* to Lenoir, and the transaction was evidently regarded as a complete and satisfactory transfer of the property.

To all appearances, by the end of 1745, Louis' property in France had thus been finally partitioned between his son and son-in-law Lenoir; but even if we did not know it, we should be inclined to suspect, that in divesting himself of all his worldly goods the old man would not have been unmindful of the interests of his other children, with whom he was living in London. It is abundantly clear that there was some private arrangement, of which for obvious reasons there was no legal evidence, that Noé and Lenoir were bound to pay to their brother François in London a yearly annuity of £25. This

appears from a letter from François to Noé of May 20, 1747. In it he speaks of his growing business, which has a turnover of £3000, and points out that this demands control of ready money; he therefore draws a bill on his relatives at Guînes for £50, being two years' annuity. 'Nous profittons de l'occasion de Monsieur Guillaume Minet qu'il a d'envoyer un de ses vaisseaux a Calais,' he adds, to send the bill for acceptance. By some curious coincidence this very bill has survived amongst my family papers; it is dated London, May 21, 1747, and is drawn by Louis and François de la Balle on Noé de la Balle and Pierre Lenoir, in favour of William Minet. By him it is endorsed over to Captain William Boyket, who commanded one of the Dover–Calais packet boats, then owned by William Minet; Boyket in his turn endorses it over to one Antoine Tellier. The bill is made payable at sight in Calais.

Louis had now been ten years in England, living with his son and daughter, and his granddaughter Marie Louise Lenoir. His property in France had been divided to all seeming between his son and son-in-law who remained there, and enough time had expired to make everyone feel safe in their holdings.

But Protestantism was still a proscribed religion in France, and the statutes against its followers and against their property were still in force. Eight years later, in 1753, Nicolas Robelon 'fermier general des biens des Religionaires fugitifs du royaume' suddenly wakes up to the fact of Louis' flight. He applies to the Court in October of that year, stating that he has heard that Louis de la Balle and some of his children 'sont sortis du royaume un an avant la déclaration de la dernière guerre pour se retirer en Angleterre pour cause de religion, et comme ils ont laissé des biens sujets à confiscation selon les édits du Conseil,' he asks for an order enabling him to seize the said property as well as all mesne rents accrued since the flight of the owner. A similar application is made in respect of Marie Louise Lenoir, stated to have left for England eighteen months previously.

If my interpretation of the letter of 1742 quoted above (p. 104) be correct, this lady was the 'Noiret,' who, as a child, had been taken over by her uncle François on a visit to her

aunt Suzanne Wright. She would seem, however, to have returned to France, and to have gone to England again in 1751. She was the granddaughter of Louis, whose daughter Marie Anne had married Pierre Lenoir, and her mother had been dead for some years before she came to England the second time. The Lenoirs were one of the strongest Huguenot families of the district, but Pierre, her father, had evidently conformed. Her sister, Suzanne, of whom we shall hear later, married a Catholic, as did her brother, though his wife was a de la Balle of Protestant ancestry. Louise must have been about twenty when she came over to England in 1751. Born long after the Revocation, of a stock originally Protestant, no doubt, but which had conformed, and educated in a Catholic school in Calais, it is difficult to account for the survival in one so young of a faith sufficiently strong to induce her to become a refugee; and yet there can be no doubt (subsequent events prove it) that religion was the moving cause of her flight. The fact of a Protestant aunt and uncle in England, as well as the presence there of her grandfather, may go some way to explain it, but it still remains somewhat of a mystery.

The Government officer seems to have had no doubt either in her case, or in that of her grandfather, as to the reason which had taken them to England, and states it plainly in his application.

Noé de la Balle and Pierre Lenoir, who had remained in Guînes and dissolved partnership in 1745, were seriously imperilled by this application and filed a strong counter petition in reply. This document, knowing what we do of Louis' Protestant birth and ancestry, and in the further light thrown on it by his letters, as well as by the facts of his life in London, affords curious reading. The petitioners express extreme surprise at the application, they cannot understand how anyone could be moved by 'des motifs aussi odieux et aussi notoirement faux. Attaquer en effet la religion des citoyens et leur supposer des sentimens d'hérésie pour s'emparer de leur fortune, c'est l'outrage le plus sanglant et l'injustice la plus criante.' They then set out that Louis their father and father-in-law was born in Guînes eighty years before (really

eighty-three, as he was born in 1670), though they omit to say that he was born and baptised a Protestant. They point out that he had married at Guînes 'en face de l'église Catholique' in 1697, and that all his children had been baptised in the same Church. They speak of his success in business, and continue:

'mais au milieu de ces travaux il n'oublia point l'ouvrage de son salut, qui fut toujours le principal de ses soins. A peine établi à Guînes [this must have been on his return from Lille, as a youth of twenty, in 1690] il fut nommé Marguiller [churchwarden] et receveur des pauvres. Il n'a rien négligé pour inspirer à ses enfants les sentiments de la religion qu'il professoit sincèrement et publiquement. Il les envoya aux écoles publiques, aux cathéchisms et instructions, à toutes les messes, vépres et offices divines. Parvenus à l'age raisonable ces enfants firent leurs premières Communions.'

We may pause here to remember that two of the four children came to England undoubtedly for religion's sake. One of them, they go on to say, married Pierre Lenoir

'en face de l'église Romaine, et de ce mariage étant nés six enfants: ils furent batisés dans la même église. Noé de la Balie a épousé avec les mêmes solemnités la Dem^lle Midon:[1] tous les enfants qui naissent de ce mariage sont aussi élevés dans la Religion Romaine qui est aussi celle de leur père et mère. D'ailleurs le Sieur Louis de la Balle s'acquitait personellement de tous ses devoirs Chrétiens avec une scrupuleuse exactitude: il fréquentait souvent les églises, manquant rarement d'entendre la messe, même les jours du travail. Il s'approchait au moins une fois l'an des sacremens de pénitence et d'eucharistie.'

They then proceed to account for some of Louis' children having gone to England:

'mais le commerce dudit Louis l'ayant mis en relation avec les étrangers, particulièrement avec les Anglais, il trouva l'occasion de placer avec eux plusieurs de ses enfants dans le commerce, et il s'y determina parceque ils y trouveraient des avantages considérables. La religion ne souffrait point de ces arrangements puis que ces enfants étaient assey instruits et affirmés dans la créance Catholique pour penser qu'ils la conserveraient jusqu'à la

[1] This family must have been genuinely Catholic.

mort ; et que, d'ailleurs, il pouvait y avoir des prêtres de la communion Romaine et des messes chez les Anglais. On sait qu'il y a encore nombre de Catholiques Romains dans ce royaume et qu'il n'est point de necessité pour y résider d'abandonner cette religion.'

Next they turn to explain why Louis himself had passed over to England. I have already said that it is difficult to account for his flight, nor do the reasons set forth in this petition help us to any better understanding of its motives.

'Louis demeura à Guines jusqu'à l'age d'environ 80 ans professant la religion Romaine et s'acquittant exactement de tous les devoirs de piété dont nous avons parlé. Alors, ayant établi Noé son fils, et Marianne sa fille, femme dudit Pierre Lenoir, étant décédé, se trouvant d'ailleurs infirme et accablé de maladies auqu'elles il ne trouvait que peu ou point de rémède dans un chétif bourg, Louis se détermina de passer en Angleterre, pour y voir ses enfants, et dans l'espérance de trouver quelque soulagement de ses maux. Son dessin été de repasser en France au bout de quelque temps,'

—and here we may recall his letter of 1744, in which he states clearly, that he has no intention of returning—

'et il l'aurait certainement exécuté, si dans ces entrefaits, la déclaration de guerre avec l'Angleterre n'avait interompu toute communication entre les deux nations.[1] Pendant cette guerre toutes les infirmités dont il se trouvait accablé n'ont fait qu'augmenter, de sorte que dans l'impossibilité de passer la mer il a été obligé de rester à Londres contre son gré, et il ne luy reste maintenant que l'espoir de retour.'

The petitioners then return to their first argument, and again endeavour to show how unlikely it would be, that such a good Catholic as Louis should become an apostate :

'peut on dire que ledit de la Balle pour en être passé en Angleterre ait abandonné la réligion Catholique ! Non, certainement. Ayant professé la réligion Catholique jusqu'à 80 ans, y ayant fait baptiser, élever, et marier tous ses enfants il n'est n'y chrétien ny naturel de s'imaginer que dans cet age ou il devait s'attendre à paraitre bientot devant son souverain juge il ait été apostat dans un pays

[1] War was actually declared on March 31, 1744, but hostilities had begun in the February previous.

étranger. Les voyages ny les changements de domicile ne supportent certainement point de variation dans la croyance, puisque l'on peut être Catholique dans tous les pays : aussi Louis de la Balle est il tel en Angleterre qu'il était dans sa paroisse de Guînes quand à la doctrine, et il est absurde encore un coup d'imaginer qu'un viellard de 80 ans devienne apostat. Quelle preuve pourrait donner Robelon de cette supposition ? Il y a beaucoup d'apparance qu'il connait peu le Sieur de la Balle.'

All this is evidently the drafting of a lawyer, and therefore we are not surprised at the note of special pleading which runs through it. The next point argued is a purely technical one. Granting, they say, that Louis were a fugitive, yet even in that case the procedure adopted by Robelon is wrong in law for various reasons, which are fully set out.

They then turn to meet the case of Marie Louise Lenoir :

'Ce n'est pas d'elle même [they say] qu'elle s'est déterminé à passer dans un royaume étranger, c'est son père qui l'a envoyée et la religion n'a aucune part dans les motifs de cette transmigration. Calais est le pays de la France le plus voisin de l'Angleterre : ce voisinage est cause que le plus grand commerce se fasse avec ce royaume : de là vient que la pluspart des habitants y sont dans la nécessité de savoir la langue Anglaise, et qu'une partie essentielle de l'éducation qu'on y donne aux enfants de l'un et de l'autre sexe est de les faire passer la mer pour apprendre à fond cette langue chez les Anglais même. Tel est le motif qu'a engagé le Sieur Lenoir à envoyer sa fille en Angleterre pour quelques temps. Il ne peut concevoir comment on a osé imaginer que l'absence de cette fille soit une fuite pour cause de religion. Un Catholique ne peut il donc sortir de la France sans être réputé religionnaire fugitif ? l'absence est elle une preuve d'Apostasie ? S'il en était ainsi l'émulation et le commerce seraient dangereux parcequ'ils obligent nécessairement des voyages. Si Robelon était fondé dans sa demande il pourait venir se mettre en possession des biens d'une infinité des habitants de Calais qui vont souvent en Angleterre et y résident autant que leurs affaires ou leur santé les y obligent. Cette accusation est d'autant plus calomnieuse dans le cas présent que la Dem^lle Lenoir, née dans le sein de l'église Catholique, a toujours reçu de son père une éducation conforme à cette naissance. Elevée à Guînes on l'a toujours vu aller aux écoles, aux cathéchismes et aux instructions

publiques : plus agée, elle fut mise dans une pension à Calais où elle continua d'être élevée chrétienne, c'est là qu'elle a fait sa première communion : n'est ce donc le comble de l'injustice de la soubçonner d'être allé en Angleterre pour Apostasier ? '

They conclude by asking that Robelon's application shall be dismissed with costs, and that he be ordered never to molest them again.

Attached to the petition is a certificate of Delay, Curé of Guînes, that Louis de la Balle had been mayor, churchwarden, and 'receveur des pauvres,' and had always fulfilled his religious duties as a good Catholic. Another affidavit by the 'Présidents et Officiers de la Justice Royale de Calais, juges en premier instance de Guînes, et autres notables de Calais' is much to the same effect. A third gives no further information, but is important from the influential position of the six persons who subscribe it. First among them is 'De Thosse, Chevalier de l'ordre du roy, conseiller, président juge civil et criminel de la justice générale de Calais'; he is followed by three 'conseillers et procureurs du roy' and two 'conseillers et avocats.' All this is evidence of how seriously the attack on Louis' property was regarded by his son and son-in-law, as also of the high position and standing Louis must have occupied in the opinion of his contemporaries during the long life he had spent among them at Guînes.

The defence put in is not, on the face of it, a strong one. It will be noticed that it offers no direct rebutting evidence, but limits itself to a statement of certain admitted facts of Louis' life previous to 1743, and asks the Court to infer from these the improbability of the change. Nor is this surprising in the light of what our London Registers tell us. Louis, it will be remembered, had arrived in London in September 1743, and in the following February occurs an entry in the Registers of the Church in Leicester Fields, which must be transcribed in full :

'Le 23 Fevrier 174$\frac{3}{4}$ Monsieur Louis de la Balle de Guin, près de Calais a fait sa Reconnoissance en presence de l'eglise de ce qu'étant né Protestant, il a eu le malheur de participer à l'idolatrie

de l'eglise Romaine : et rendant grace à Dieu de ce qu'il est arrivé dans ce pais pour y professer la Religion Protestante Réformée, dans laquelle il a promis de vivre et de mourir. Signé—

J. Bourdillon—Pasteur.
Louis de la Balle. J. R. le Cointe—Ancien.
Isaac Luques—Ancien.'

It seems impossible to conceive that the fact chronicled in this entry was not known to Noé de la Balle and Pierre Lenoir ; I am inclined to go further and to think that the high officials, who supported by their affidavits the opposition to the Fermier Général, must also have known of it. Clearly had the latter been acquainted with it, his case would have been unanswerable. The inference would seem to be that while the Fermier Général, living at Amiens, may not have known of what must have been common talk at Calais, Calais did know the real truth. It says much for the esteem in which Louis had been held, that the knowledge was kept discreetly hidden.

The judgment of the Court seems eminently wise. The question really is (it says) whether Louis, who admittedly was once a Huguenot, (though, as the Court pertinently points out, this fact has been struck out from what we may call the pleadings,) has relapsed again—for in this case the application of Robelon would be well founded.

The case of Marie Louise Lenoir, it goes on to say, is not exactly similar to her grandfather's, since she was, admittedly, born and educated a Catholic ; yet seeing the close connexion of the two cases, and considering the fact that the property claimed against her would be property derived by her, through her deceased mother, from her grandfather, the decision in her case must follow that in her grandfather's. The concluding words of the judgment must be given in the original :

'On estime donc qu'il faut établir comme point principal le fait que l'on a rayé sur le memoire communiqué que Louis de la Balle depuis sa naissance a toujours professé la religion romaine, ce qui suppose qu'il eut anciennement professé la religion prétendue reformée. Il serait essentiel pour pouvoir réussir contre le Fermier (i.e. Robelon) qu'auprès le Ministre de France en Angleterre il y

eut de la part de Louis de la Balle une déclaration authentique de la profession qu'il continue à faire de la religion romaine dans laquelle il veut achever sa vie et mourir : et dans cette déclaration il ajouterait le motif de sa retraite et de son séjour en Angleterre et son [intention] de retour en France. Et de la par de la Dem^lle^ Lenoir une déclaration qu'elle persevère à professer la communion romaine dans laquelle elle est née. Elle y ajouterait en même temps qu'elle n'est en Angleterre que momentanément pour y apprendre la langue Anglaise et qu'elle est dans la résolution ferme de revenir en France. On ne voit pas d'autre moyen pour parer aux poursuites du Fermier.'

A wise judgment ; indeed, under the circumstances, the only possible one. How was it met ? Did Louis and his granddaughter make the necessary declarations ? In the light of what we know this would seem impossible, for nothing can be clearer than the fact that they were both Protestants, and continued in that faith.

One other solution is possible, though it can only be made as a suggestion. The right of proceeding against the property of fugitive Huguenots was farmed out by the Government, the farmers paying a fixed sum and making what they could out of it. Seeing the high protection which Louis undoubtedly enjoyed at Calais, I venture to suggest that the matter was compromised by the payment of a fine by Noé and Lenoir, the property being thus ransomed. This suggestion is supported by the fact that we find no decree or other evidence of confiscation. On the contrary, we know that the two partners continued on at Guînes in the enjoyment of the property.

Within two years Marie Louise Lenoir marries in London into a well-known Huguenot family, her husband being William Prévost.

We learn this from a letter written from London by Marie Louise to her uncle Noé at Guînes (February 15, 1756). Some question had arisen concerning certain property of her grandfather's in France, and, acting as his secretary, she gives the information respecting it ; she also enters fully into the conditions under which certain of her own French property was let : all which is strong evidence that no decree of confiscation had

been pronounced. The announcement of her own marriage must be given in her own words—if only to show that her French had suffered from residence in England :

'Mon oncle, j'espert que vous vouderez bien nous pardonner de ce que nous avons manqué à notre devoir qui était de vous écrire quand nous nous somme marié, mais je vous diray que sa fut fait cy vitte par le conselle de la famille, et que j'étois dans une grande peigne souhaitant que sa ne fut pas cy vitte. J'espert, cher oncle, que vous vouderez bien nous donner votre bénédiction et tendresse et amitié. Cher oncle, je vous prie de ne point laisser voire cette laitre à personne, car je pense que l'on ne sait pas que je suis marié.

Votre affectionnée niece,
LOUISE PREVOST.'

One cannot help wondering whether the desire for secrecy was prompted by mere maidenly modesty—or by some fear that the publication of the fact might once again rouse the 'Fermier.' It is also curious to notice what, at this lapse of time, one cannot explain, that all through her letter to her uncle there is no mention of her father, who was still living at Guînes. He must, one would imagine, have known of his daughter's marriage, and yet she seems to treat him as non existent, as one of the public who was not to be informed of it.

One or two letters of this date show us that Madame Noé de la Balle was ill ; and in September 1757, we learn of her death. Francois writes from London (September 7, 1756) to condole with his brother, and says that he and his wife would have liked to assist the widower by taking charge of one of the five daughters, but 'leur grandmère ne serait pas contente,' in which words we perhaps realise the religious difficulty, as by 'grandmère' is meant Madame Midon, who was a Catholic.

He again speaks of his business as growing, but is evidently in want of capital, as he asks his brother for a loan of 125 guineas.

Louis de la Balle was now (1758) in his eighty-eighth year, living with his granddaughter Madame Prévost and her husband ; till 1756 he had been, as we have seen, a member of the church in Leicester Fields, but in this year, owing to

some change of residence probably, he joins the Threadneedle Street Church, where we find his 'Tesmoignage' under date May 30, 1756. A letter of September 29, 1758, from Mr. Prévost to Noé de la Balle acquaints us with the fact that money was still being remitted from Noé and Pierre Lenoir to the old man in London; for two bills of exchange for eighteen and thirty guineas are spoken of. The letter is signed not only by 'votre très humble et très obéissant neveu G^me^ Prévost,' but also by Louis de la Balle himself. This is the last signature of his that we have, for the next letter, again from Prévost to Noé (November 28, 1758), communicates the news of his death. 'Il faut que je vous apprenne la mort du cher grandpère. Il est mort le second de ce présent mois, le matin, pendant que j'étois à l'habiller, sans douleur et sans soupir, après avoir tenu sa chambre une semaine seulement; pas de douleur, mais tout à fait usé d'age.'

So ended a long life, which may be taken as a good example of one of the many types which must have existed among the Huguenots who passed through those times of trial. We have not the key to the whole of his character. On the business side he showed all that strength and capacity which were so marked a feature in the Huguenots of that period. The spiritual side of him was a blend of strength and weakness. We can hardly blame him if at the date of the Revocation he put this world's goods above his inherited faith; he was then only fifteen years of age, but when for the next fifty-seven years he continued a conforming Roman Catholic, this can have been nothing better than a pretence. Against this we have to set the fact, that he encouraged his children and grandchildren to go to a country where faith was free, and that at the age of seventy-three, when the conscience of a man may well be blunted, he himself chose the path of exile.

One feature which stands out strongly in the records of this family, is the readiness of all its members to come to the assistance of those poorer than themselves on either side of the channel. More than once it appears that François in London was not succeeding as well as he might have wished—he had

married one Marie Bazieux who was in Guînes in 1764, when some kind of 'conseil de famille' took place. Noé de la Balle, her brother-in-law, was present, as were Noé André Lenoir, Suzanne Lenoir (now the wife of Monsieur du Guizelain), and Marie Louise Prévost, her nephew and nieces. A deed is drawn up, by which those persons bind themselves 'pour la bonne amitié que nous portons à Marie Bazieux notre belle-sœur et belle-tante' to pay to her from and after her husband's death an annuity of 360 livres, of which Noé made himself responsible for 180 livres, while the nephew and two nieces undertake the other half in thirds. The amount translated into English money seems hardly worth the legal verbiage of the deed in which it is set forth: taking the livre at 10½*d.*, it amounts to £15 15*s.* per annum, a larger sum then, it is true, than now,

François was still living in London, and was in receipt of a yearly payment made by his brother Noé and brother-in-law Pierre Lenoir, in respect of some share in his father's estate. In payment of this, bills are drawn; but the covering letters, in which these are referred to, evidence far more than business transactions—they show a knowledge on each side of what the other is doing, the execution of small commissions, and all the little matters which go to prove the continuance of a common family interest based on family affection.

The first jarring note is struck in 1765, and may fairly be attributed to the death of Pierre Lenoir, which took place in that year. He left a son, Noé André, and two daughters. Of these, Marie Louise we have long known as Madame Prévost, the other, Suzanne, had married Daniel Marie du Guizelain, Seigneur de Bienassise, and was, like her husband, a Catholic.

Madame Prévost, notwithstanding that she was a Protestant, seems to have been regarded by her relations as, at any rate morally, entitled to share in her father's estate, though under the circumstances she could have had no legal claim; and her Catholic sister raised the question of her right to do so. She points out in a long document, evidently written by a lawyer, that Madame Prévost could be

debarred altogether, and threatens, unless her sister agrees to the compromise she suggests, to take steps to have this done. This compromise consists in allowing Madame Prévost the interest on her share of the estate for her life, but on her death the capital is to revert to her Catholic next of kin, though should she or her children return to France and to Catholicism their rights were to be restored to them in full. We are not told what came of this offer, but as the law then was, Madame Prévost was probably forced to accept it, at any rate for the time.

Five years later, however, circumstances enabled Louise Prévost to vindicate her rights. Suzanne Wright, her aunt, died that year (1770) in London, leaving to her French nephew and niece, Noé André Lenoir and Susanne Guizelain, a legacy of £600. Louise must have been executrix of the will; and, as we can guess, refused to pay it over, unless her rights in France were recognised. Her position was a strong one, and led to an arrangement by which her brother and sister give her a discharge in full for the legacy, she on her part surrendering to them any share in the family property to which she might be entitled; morally that is, for, as we have seen, she could have no legal claim. The arrangement is carried through by a deed dated November 6, 1770, which gives the fullest detail. The £600 is taken as equivalent to 13,722 livres (at an exchange of 10½*d.* to the livre). The property surrendered by Louise consists partly of two sums of 2,400 livres (£105) which had evidently been advanced by the aunt to her nephew and niece, and was thus due from them to the estate, the remainder being real estate in which Louise would have been entitled to share. This is set out in full and valued in two schedules, each amounting to 6,861 livres, together making up the total of 13,722 livres.

We can now turn from money matters to the more pleasing topic of a marriage. The young people concerned were Noé André Lenoir, son of Pierre, and Antoinette Pétronille de la Balle, his cousin. The marriage was arranged by the intermediary of relations, according to the French fashion, but seeing that both parties were living in France, and both Roman Catholic, it is a little curious to find the first proposals coming

from François, the needy uncle who lived in London. My explanation would be that he was regarded as the 'doyen' of the family, as indeed he now was, and acted in that capacity. If so it is a strong illustration of the close connexion which still existed between the two branches of the family, though so many years had now passed since the disruption. He writes from Paris to his brother Noé at Guînes (August 7, 1765), having evidently just arrived there from London:

'quand j'ai passé à Gravelines j'aurai été bien aise d'y voir ma nièce Manon, mais elle était parti pour se divertir à une lieu de la ville. Cela me fit bien de la peine, attendu que j'avois un message d'une grande importance à luy communiquer de la part de notre nepheu Lenoir. C'est un jeune homme qui a tous les respects que l'on peut avoir pour elle, et qui seroit très mortifié de la chagriner en quelque chose qui seroit contre ses inclinations. Mon message étoit de demander à ma nièce ta fille si elle avoit quelque répugnance contre son cousin en ce qu'il la souhaitoit pour être son épouse. Tu peux aisément croire que c'est un mariage qui fera une très grande joie à toute la famille, attendu que je connais toute leur disposition et sentimens à ce sujet. Ainsi consulte ta fille, mon désir est de vous voir tous heureux. Fais moi, je te prie, réponse au plus vite; ou bien montre cette lettre à ton nepheu et luy demande si c'est la vérité, après que tu seras consulté avec Manon, et donne luy réponse avec amitié.'

The next letter, written from London five months later, shows that the matter was not yet finally settled. The writer is J. J. Majendie, who had married a Miss Prévost, and was therefore brother-in-law to Louise Prévost, formerly Lenoir.

His marriage must have brought him into great intimacy with the de la Balle and Lenoir families on both sides of the channel. He encloses in his letter communications from both Mr. and Mrs. Wright (the latter once Suzanne de la Balle):

'qui agréent la recherche que vous faites de Mad^lle^ votre cousine de la Balle, et qui souhaitent que les démarches relatives à cet objet intéressant aient le succès désiré.' [For himself he adds], 'quoi de plus convenable pour les deux parties que cette union, quoi de plus propre à vous assurer à tous les deux un sort heureux? Daignez en hâter la notification, mon cher Monsieur, ce sera une nouvelle obligation que nous vous aurons.'

In a postscript he says that he adds nothing of the health of Mr. and Mrs. Wright, as he encloses their letters; 'la santé de Mad^me^ votre sœur [i.e. Louise Prévost] ayant été un peu derangée, elle n'a pas pu nous venir voir; vous savez d'ailleurs combien est grande la distance qui nous sépare'; from which it would appear that the Prévosts were not living in London.

The marriage took place at Guînes with Catholic rites in 1768. The contract dated February 13 gives, as usual, a list of all the relatives and friends present, and the English branches of both families were well represented.

The bridegroom has among his witnesses his sisters Suzanne, married to M. du Guizelain, and Louise widow of Guillaume Prévost, 'de son vivant capitaine de vaisseau'; the latter must have come from England. The bride was assisted by her father Noé, her sister Marie Cathérine Elizabeth, Suzanne Wright, 'veuve de Thomas Wright vivant Mathématicien de Sa Majesté Britannique,' her aunt, and François de la Balle, her uncle, both the latter said to be of London. Mr. Jean Jacques de Majendie, 'Précepteur de la Reine d'Angleterre, docteur, demeurant a Londres' also appears. His relationship with the Lenoirs, distant as even that was, would have led us to expect to find Majendie rather among the bridegroom's friends. He had married, it will be remembered, the sister of the latter's brother-in-law, but his interest in the match has been proved by his letter quoted above. It is a noticeable point that these English relations head the list of witnesses in each case, as though special honour was to be paid to them. They are followed by a long list of names, which may be taken as representing all that stood highest in the official and burgher life of Calais at that date. The relationship is given in each case in the fullest detail. Noé the eldest son of Louis must have died between 1768 and 1780, a period for which, unfortunately, there are no documents. François his brother yet lived on in London, and, as in earlier years, was ever in need of money. He writes in 1780 to his nephew, Noé André, to complain that three years of his annuity are due to him. He speaks of himself as 'votre oncle qui a tout abandonné pour votre bien être,' a phrase the truth of which we can now well

understand, nor could the fact have been put more delicately. The old man, for he must have been at least eighty at this date, was still carrying on business,[1] for in 1782 he writes to inquire concerning a parcel containing 118 dozen watch-chains coming to him from Geneva: these seem to have reached him safely shortly after. In 1783 comes the last letter from François to his nephew at Guînes, again on the subject of his annuity still irregularly paid, and with this letter the chronicles of the de la Balle family cease.

François left no children; so with him the name died out in England. Louise Prévost his niece left, so far as we know, two sons, Thomas who was ordained, and William, and it is possible that the family continued through this line. Jean Noé and Noé André remained to carry on the family at Guînes, but recent inquiries show that the name no longer survives there.

I have used these papers to bring out such points as seemed to have interest for us as Huguenots; but it may be well to note another aspect of them, which, were one interested in the topography of Guînes, would have a value of a different kind. Many of them are concerned, as we have seen, with matters relating to real estate conveyances, partitions, confiscations, and the like. In all of these the parcels are always most carefully set out: and, had one any knowledge of the Guînes of to-day, most of the premises named could be easily identified.

It remains to sum up the net results to be gathered from the story of this Huguenot family. First, it confirms what I have more than once had occasion to point out, namely, the fact that the emigration did not take place in any one year, nor was it specially due to the actual Revocation. Beginning many years before 1685, it continued on, in numbers lessening every year, long after that date.[2] Of the de la Balles Jean and Suzanne

[1] He appears in the *London Directory* of 1773 as of Dean Street, Soho, merchant.

[2] See *Publications of the Society*; vol. xxi. p. 22. The Dover Church also illustrates this point well, for of 177 persons joining it from abroad, 126 come immediately upon the Revocation, and 51 during the following twenty-five years (*Proceedings*, vol. iv. p. 210).

anne = Pierre Ouenne (Hovinne)
m. at Guines, 10 Feb. 1669

ufville

Abraham, *b.* 1671
Marie, *b.* 1675
Suzanne, *b.* 1678
Jacques, *b.* 1679
Abraham, 1680
All died young

6 children *b.* at Guines, of whom Suzanne (*b.* 29 Sept. 1679) *m.* Firmin Loste, at Canterbury, 26 Jan. 1698

Marie Anne = Pierre Lenoir
d. before 1745 | *d.* 1765

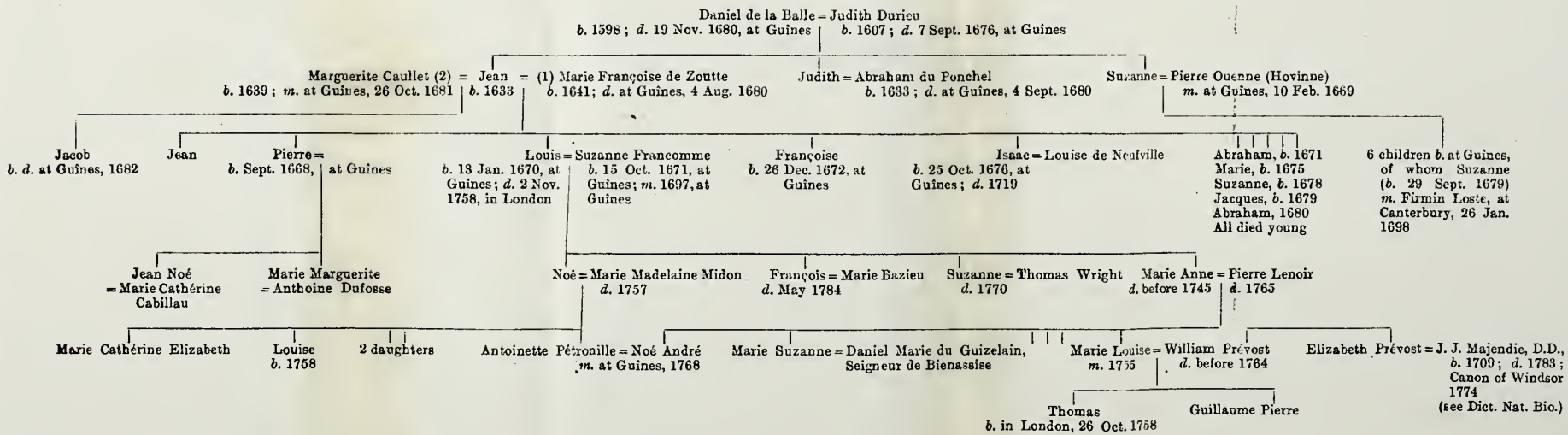
uise = William Prévost
55 | *d.* before 1764

Guillaume Pierre
. 1758

Elizabeth Prévost = J. J. Majendie, D.D., *b.* 1709; *d.* 1783; Canon of Windsor 1774 (see Dict. Nat. Bio.)

[*To face p.* 128.

Pedigree of the Family of de la Balle of Guines.



[To face p. 128.

Ouenne came to England at the Revocation; François and Suzanne, children of Louis, and therefore born after 1697, about 1720–1730: Marie Louise Lenoir first about 1740, and, permanently, about 1751, and Louis himself in 1743. It is this continuing emigration which no doubt accounts for the close connexion kept up, as we have seen, till 1784 between the French and English branches of the family, a condition of things which must have found its parallel in many other families, though we seldom have the opportunity of watching it as closely as here.[1]

Another point must be borne in mind. 'Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte': the fact that one member of a family had passed over to a foreign shore made it easier for others to follow, for the forerunner would speak of the journey as not so terrible after all, and would extol the freedom of faith and the kindly welcome he had found in the new land. Such a report would lead those with whom conformity in France had hung in a doubtful balance to take the step which till then had seemed to be more than they could venture.

In studying Huguenot history one must, as in all knowledge, proceed from the known to the unknown. What we have learnt from the story of the de la Balles adds considerably, I may claim, to our knowledge, and in it we shall find a key to much that has hitherto been dark to us. All that we have learned from it accords after all with what we know of human nature, and Huguenot nature is but human nature exhibiting itself under a very special stress. It is built up, as ever, of strength and weakness, and we are proud to think that in our ancestors the strength has shown itself more prominent than the weakness. It is this strength we claim as our special heritage, and for this reason we welcome every new illustration of it which the existence of this society enables us to bring to light.

[1] In my own family, which came over in 1686, much more 'en bloc' than did the de la Balles, I find a similar state of things; for William Minet, born in England in 1703, sends money to 'poor relations' in France as late as 1766. (*Huguenot Family of Minet.* London, 1892, p. 115).

Epitaphs in the French Nonconformist Cemeteries of Peter Street and Stephen's Green, Dublin.

TRANSCRIBED BY V. E. SMYTH, JUNE 1912.

EPITAPHS IN PETER STREET CEMETERY.

HERE lie the remains of Abraham Pommoieu | who departed this life 19th September 1802 | aged 42 | He was an affectionate Relative | a warm Friend | and an amiable Acquaintance | To him the Unfortunate and Distressed | never applied in vain | He was indeed an honest Man. |

[The name is Pomarede in the Burial Register.]

Sacred to the Memory of | Paul le Bas Esq Sts Green Dublin | who departed this life 16 Sept 1824 | after many years of lingering Suffering | which he bore with Xtian patience & | cheerfulness. His whole character | was distinguished by truth & Simplicity. | This Stone is erected as a trifling | tribute of the affection of his afflicted | family | . . . Here also beneath this Stone | are deposited the remains of | his beloved and Affectionate | Daughter Mary Anne Adams | who departed this life April | 21st 1827 aged 32 years having | left an afflicted Mother Brother | and Husband to deplore her | premature loss. | . . . Here also are deposited the Remains of | Mary | Relict of the above named Paul Le Bas Esq | who died on the 1 day of March 1842 | aged 86 years.

[The Burial Register gives the age of Paul Le Bas at death as 71 years.]

Underneath lie the Remains of | Major John Corneille who died the 10th July AD 1792 aged 67 years | This stone was laid here | to mark the place of his Burial | for the Satisfaction of those who | knew his virtues & revere his Memory. |

[The Burial Register states that he died July 11, 1792, aged 65 years.]

Here lieth | All that was Mortal | of | Mis[s] Mary Henrietta Bourdage | Daughter of | Joshua and Esther Bourdage | She was born | 5th June 1812 | died | 21 December 1825. |

Here lieth the remains of Jno Gaspard | Battier Esq who departed this life 12th | December 1794 aged 83 years also | the remains of his wife Mary Battier | Daughter of Capt. Barbull who dep | arted this life May 16 1786 aged | 65 years.

Beneath this Stone | lie the earthly remains of | Lieutenant Colonel | Samuel Henry Mangin | who died in July 1798 | leaving a widow and eight children | to deplore his loss | And also of his Brother | Alexander Mangin Esq | who died in June 1802 | The Righteous Lord loveth Righteousness | and | his Countenance doth behold the Upright |

[From the Burial Register: Lieut.-Col. Mangin died July 13, 1798, aged 61 years. Alexander Mangin died July 29, 1802, aged 72 years.]

Anthony Perrier.

[A very long, almost illegible, inscription; no appearance of having borne any date. The Burial Register mentions 'Le sheriff Antoine Perier, mort le 21e de Juillet 1772 agé de 60 ans.']

Beneath this Stone | with those of other members | of the family of | Chaigneau | are deposited the Mortal remains | of | John Chaigneau Esq | Eldest Son of | Peter Chaigneau Esq | of Fitzwilliam St in this City | and | Benown in the C. Westmeath | who died 10 Oct 1825 | aged 22 years. |

Erected by her affectionate children | to the memory of | Susan Espinasse Relict of | William Espinasse | of Kill Abbey, County Dublin | and Daughter of Lieut. Colonel Mangin | Died 8th January 1863 | in the 86th year of her age | 'She died the Death of the Righteous | and may our last end be like her's.'

Erected | to the Memory | of | the family of | Miot | by order of the | Consistoire | Sept. 1886. |

This Stone and buriall place belong | to Mr Iohn Villebois of the City | of Dublin, Merchant | . . . Here lieth the Body of Mr Iohn | Villebois eldest Son to the above | who departed this life the 26th of | April 1757 aged 20 years and also | 6 of his brothers and Sisters who | died very young.

. . . the 5th of July 1780 aged 76 Years | Her affectionate Son Coln Lewis Mes[tayer] | has Caused this Stone to be here fixed | in grateful remembrance of the many | virtues of the best of Mothers.

[Entry in Burial Register: 'Jeanne Trouillé, veuve de Charles Mestayer morte le 5e de Juillet 1789 agée de 76 ans.'

Here lieth | in hope of Glorious Resurrection | the body of Peter De Gualy Esq | who departed this life the | . . . of December aged 60 AD 1764 | also | the body of Iane De Gualy his wife who | departed this life the . . . aged 77 | also the body of Charles De Gualy Esq | their only Son who departed this life | . . . aged 48 AD 1774

'They were worthy among worthies | Sincere Christians and philanthrophists |

Best of Husbands Best of Wifes
Best of Fathers Best of Mothers
Best of Sisters Best of Brothers

Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall See God.' 'Blessed are the Dead that die in the Lord.' [And other texts.]

[The Burial Register states that Jeanne Marie, veuve de Capt. Pierre de Gualy, morte le 1er Janvier 1774, agée 79 ans. Also le Capitain Charles de Gualy, morte le 8 Juillet 1774 agé de 48 ans.]

In the firm hope of a final Resurrection | underneath are interred the remains | of | Paul Mangin Esq | Captain in His Majesty's 46 Regt of Foot | who was born | at Cologne Sur la

spree adjoining to the City of Berlin | the 5 Day of June 1700 | and departed this life in the City of Dublin | the 17th Day of April 1797 | aged 96 years 10 months and 12 days | also | of his Excellent and well beloved wife | Ann Henrietta D'Aulnis de Lalande | who was born in the City of London | the 10th Day of August 1714 | and who died in the City of Dublin | the 13 Day of January 1779 | aged 64 years 5 months and 3 days.

EPITAPHS IN STEPHEN'S GREEN CEMETERY.

To the memory of William Maziere Esquire | of North Great Georges Street Dublin | Eldest son of the late Andrew De La Maziere Esq. | who | departed this life on the Seventh day of | December One thousand Eight hundred & | thirty five | Aged Sixty two Years—Also Robert Maziere Esq Son of the above | who departed this life 17th Novr 1855 aged 39 years | and also Mary Jane Maziere (née Curry) relict of the | above William Maziere, who departed this life 8th Dec. 1866 | aged 81 years |

1788 | Andrew De La Maziere | Mary Le Blanc | his wife . . . children 4 Sons | and . . . Daughters

On the same stone :—

Family of A.D.L.M. Jun

1777 | Pierre Galan | his wife | Magdalene Maziere | their children.

Here lyeth the Body of Mrs Jane Audouin wife of [Peter (?)] J . . . glas and of | . . . deceased | . . . aged | . . . lyeth | Audouin Son . . . Audouin departed this life Feb 12th 176 . . . Aged 62 years.

. . . le Corps de | . . . uglas decédé le | Jullet 1710 natif de | Clerac en Guiene agé de | 53 ans Marchand de Dublin | et de Son fils decédé le | 14 Fevrier 1710

Samuel De La Maziere | Ob^{t} 26th Octr 1726 | Iane De Valois | his wife | Ob^{t} 7th May 1755 | their Son Paul | and Daughters | Iane and Margaret |

[Note.—Samuel De La Maziere of Dublin, merchant, died in 1736, as shown by his will.]

In Memory of | Helen Elizabeth | daughter of | James and Helen Martineau | born November 25th 1829 | died July 14th 1830.

Hic Jacent

Hy. B. D'Olier .	. obiit	17 May 1831 .	Anno Æ^{s}	21
Isaac H. D'Olier .	,,	7 April 1835 ..	,,	2
N^{s} Ogle D'Olier .	,,	29 June 1835 .	,,	27
Helen Jane D'Olier .	,,	24 September 1836	,,	22
Henry D. Wolseley .	,,	4 April 1838 .	,,	3
Harriette Mª Wolseley	,,	23 December 1838	,,	2
Richard Hy. D'Olier .	,,	9 April 1839 .	,,	42
Mª Jemima Purcell .	,,	19 March 1841 .	,,	5
Richard Henry D'Olier	,,	4 March 1858 .	,,	26
Henry Brooke D'Olier	,,	30 November 1864	,,	28
Anna Maria Wolseley .	,,	28 November 1870	,,	70
Maria D'Olier widow of the below mentioned Isaac D'Olier	,,	18 July 1854 .	,,	77
Isaac D'Olier LLD father or grandfather of all the above .	,,	22 November 1841	,,	70
Cadwallader Wolseley Archdeacon of Glendalagh . . .	,,	4 November 1872	,,	66
Charlotte D'Olier (widow of the above-mentioned Richard H. D'Olier who died in 1839) . .	,,	16 August 1880 .	,,	78

In Memory of | William Johnston | of Synnot Place in this City | who died 22nd April 1848 | and | Harriet Johnston, née Maziere | his wife who died 7th March 1866 | their remains repose underneath this Stone |

'They were lovely and pleasant in their lives and in Death they are not divided.'

Also five of their children | Harriet | Marcia | Marcus Maziere | Sarah | Lucy | whose remains are interred in an adjoining plot.

Here lie the remains of | Elias Tardy Esq who died 4th Decr 1796 | aged 55 years | of | Anne Tardy, formerly Du Bedat wife | of Elias Tardy Esq who died 6th Decr 1787 | aged 39 years | of Francis Tardy Esq eldest Son of Elias Tardy | who died 2nd Aug 1836—aged 62 years | of | James Tardy Esq youngest son of Elias Tardy | who died 9th June 1835 | aged 53 years | and of several of his children | also Mary Anne wife of the above James | who died the 8th of March 1884 aged 92 years.

Here lieth the remains of Mr Simeon Boileau | who died 17 July 1767 aged 50 years | also the remains of the late Mr John Boileau his | brother and those of the late Theophilus Desbrisay Esq | This Stone was erected to the Memory of the above | Simeon by his Son Thomas Boileau

[The Burial Register states that: Jean Boileau died February 1, 1772, aged 50 years; Capitaine Theophile Desbrisay died July 5, 1772, aged 79 years.]

Here lieth the body of Mauanne Dupee | who departed this life on ye 4th Day | June 1801 aged 89 years. This Stone is layd | by her Affct Friend Anna Maria Dmvil | as a Mark of Regard for her Faithfl | & affect Services

[In Burial Register: 'Marie Anne Dupuy.']

Here lieth the remains of | Mr Robert Mallet | he was born at North Tawton in Devonshire | He departed this life on the 24 of June 1804 | aged 50 years.

Mary McLean | Elizabeth McLean | Robert McLean died February 1814 | John McLean Senr died 10 Decr 1831 | Sarah his wife died 27th January 1834 | Belinda Maria McLean | wife of Andrew McLean | died 25 Jany 1841 aged 28 years.

[From Burial register: Marie McLane died Oct. 1, 1806, aged 22 years; Elizabeth Fulton Maclean died 1819; Sarah McLean died January 27, 1832.]

There are separate stones to :—

Anne Lunell, wife of William Lunell,	*d.* Aug. 5, 1748, aged 42.
Anne ,, ,, George ,,	*d.* Aug. 24, 1803.
George ,, . . . ,,	*d.* Jan. 17, 1811, aged 50.
Mabel ,, wife of George ,,	*d.* Oct. 27, 1810.
Robina ,, ,, Peter ,,	*d.* Nov. 7, 1835.
Rebecca ,, widow of William ,,	*d.* May 10, 1807, aged 81.

On one stone :—

William Pierre Lunell . .	*d.* June 5, 1843, aged 57.
Elizabeth Anne ,, his sister	*d.* Nov. 4, 1877.

A stone to—

John Du Bedat, died July 21, 1881, aged 62 years.
Sophia his wife, died May 3, 1889, aged 72 years.

Also to :—

John Law Esq., M.D., died April 30, 1809, aged 63.

There is a cut stone memorial porch on the north end wall with a brass tablet bearing the following :—

'Erected | in Loving Memory of those | whose mortal remains have | been laid within this Cemetery.'

Elias Tardy, R.D., J.P. } *Trustees.*
Peter Du Bedat. }
Francis E. Du Bedat, *Secretary.*
A.D. 1880.

The Directors of the French Hospital of La Providence.

COMMUNICATED BY HENRY WAGNER, F.S.A.

A LIST of the long line of Directors of the French Hospital of 'La Providence—which in six years' time will be keeping the bicentenary of its incorporation, which dates from 1718,—may be of some interest and service, at least genealogically, since cast in an alphabetical form it exhibits conveniently the close and constant connexion with it of many of our Huguenot Refugee families, such as—to take a few instances—were André, who have contributed seven Directors, Bosanquet eight, Chalié (now, however, extinct in the male line) seven, Duval eleven, Gaussen six, Guillemard and Romilly three, and Roumieu six.

Occasionally, however, a similarity of name may be misleading. It is found—again to quote three or four instances—that our two Baudouin or Baudoin Directors were—if one may for convenience' sake borrow the German term—'Namens-Verwandten,' but no more; that our eight Delamares must be split into two equal groups of four; that our four Deschamps were in no way connected with the Jean Deschamps who figures on our Roll in 1781 under his adopted name of Chamier; nor Claude Desmarets, or Desmaretz, who was Deputy-Governor from 1759 to 1762, with the François Desmarets of 1760–81, to whom there is found an interesting monumental inscription in Latin at Leghorn.

It should be said that the dates given as those of the year of death are in the majority of cases those of the probate of the wills, or of the grants of administration, that have been sought at Somerset House, and it is well within the bounds of possibility that they may in some, if not in several, instances prove to be post-dated.

Governors and Deputy-Governors have been signalised by capital letters. A good many—indeed, upwards of forty

—pedigrees of families whose names are to be found in this list have in the last few years been put on printed record. In the 'Genealogist' have appeared those of Baril and Berchére; of Barnouin, Boissier, Chalié, Clarmont, Combrune, Creuzé, De Vaynes, De Villettes, Du Prat de Charreau with Maséres, Galhié, Jullian, Lucadou, and Silvester. In 'Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica' have been attempted by the same enthusiast those of Amyand, Ardesoif, Auber, Aubertin, Castres, Chassereau, Comarque, De Cosne, Dela Chaumette, Delamare, Dutens, Ferard, Gaultier, Gignoux, Guillemard, Guinand, d'Hervart, &c., Jaumard, Jolit, La Meloniére, Lemann, Ligonier, Menet, Petit, Ravaud, Reneu, Seignoret, Teulon and Vignoles.

H. W.

LIST OF DIRECTORS.

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1759.	Zacharie Agace	1778
1763.	Abdias Agace	1787
1764.	Jacob Agace	1782
1788.	Daniel Agace	—
1761.	Pierre Alavoine	—
1846.	James Albers	—
1756.	JACOB ALBERT, Trésorier, 1762–1779; Sous-Gouverneur, 1779–1785	1785
1765.	Estienne Amiot	1786
1723.	Claude Amyand	1740
1756.	David André, Secrétaire, 1785-1791	1791
1782.	David André, jun.	1819
1786.	JEAN LOUIS ANDRÉ, Secrétaire, 1797–1801; Trésorier, 1801–1808; Sous-Gouverneur, 1808–1811	1811
1793.	Sir Guillaume Louis André, Bart.	1802
1809.	JEAN LOUIS ANDRÉ, Secrétaire, 1810–1822; Trésorier, 1822–1836; Sous-Gouverneur, 1836–1841	—
1814.	Jaques Pierre André	—
1846.	James Peter André	1868

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1881.	Thomas Archer	1893
1767.	Isaac Ardesoif	1799
1789.	Estienne Ardesoif	1822
1765.	Joseph Artieres	1786
1755.	Pierre Auber	1766
1767.	Pierre Auber	1787
1779.	Jaques Auber	1810
1784.	Pierre Auber, jun.	1811
1773.	Antoine Aubert	1780
1771.	Pierre Aubertin	1808
1911.	Thomas Aubertin	—
1725.	Israel Antoine Aufrere	1758
1780.	Pierre Jaques Auriol	—
1729.	Charles Bacalan	1739
1824.	Jaques Barbet	—
1763.	Estienne Barbut	1794
1772.	Jaques Barbut	1782
1758.	Berchere Baril	1796
1767.	Jaques Baril	1798
1737.	Moyse Barnege	1749
1809.	Jaques Henri Barnouin	1843
1718.	Benjamin Barouneau	1732
1900.	Rev. Preby. Arthur H. Sanxay Barwell	—
1771.	Jean Rodolphe Battier	—
1718.	JAQUES BAUDOIN, Sous-Gouverneur, 1718–1720	1739
1718.	Réné Baudouin	1728
1736.	Ven. Daniel Cornelius de Beaufort	1788
1822.	William Morris Beaufort	1908
1731.	Louis Beliard	—
1799.	Jaques Belloncle, Trésorier, 1811–1821	—
1796.	Pierre Benezeck	1821
1718.	Jacques Louis Berchére	1753
1774.	Estienne Beuzeville	1775
1776.	Pierre Beuzeville	1812
1777.	Jaques Beuzeville	1799
1814.	Etienne Beuzeville	—
1738.	Jaques Binet	—
1740.	Claude Binet	—
1763.	Jacob Blaquiere	—
1763.	Jean Pierre Blaquiere	1801

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1768.	Charles Boileau	1772
1787.	Jean Pierre Boileau	1837
1839.	Sir John Peter Boileau, Bart., F.R.S.	1869
1886.	Sir Francis G. M. Boileau, 2nd Bart.	1900
1763.	Jean Bonnett	—
1766.	Pierre Bonnett	—
1825.	Guillaume Henri Booth	—
1735.	Jean Bosanquet	1750
1741.	Claude Bosanquet	1786
1782.	Samuel Bosanquet	1806
1782.	Guillaume Bosanquet	1813
1786.	Henry Bosanquet	—
1787.	Jacob Bosanquet	1828
1787.	Guillaume Bosanquet	1800
1826.	Samuel Bosanquet	1843
1730.	Jean Boucher [Living when J. B., jun. made his will in 1754]	—
1760.	Jean Boucher	1761
1831.	Jaques Bourdillon	1781
1898.	Francis William Bourdillon	—
1855.	Fréderic Armand Bourdon	—
1770.	GUILLAUME BOUVERIE, COMTE DE RADNOR, Gouverneur, 1770–1776	1776
1789.	JACOB PLEYDELL BOUVERIE, 2nde COMTE DE RADNOR, Gouverneur, 1789–1828	1828
1803.	GUILLAUME PLEYDELL BOUVERIE, 3me COMTE DE RADNOR, Gouverneur, 1828–1869	1869
1842.	JACOB PLEYDELL BOUVERIE, 4me COMTE DE RADNOR, Gouverneur, 1869–1889	1889
—	GUILLAUME PLEYDELL BOUVERIE 5me COMTE DE RADNOR, Gouverneur, 1889–1900	1900
1900.	JACOB PLEYDELL BOUVERIE. 6me COMTE DE RADNOR, Gouverneur, 1900	—
1790.	Hon. Philippe [Bouverie] Pusey	1828
1837.	Isaac Boyd	—
1787.	Abraham Bredel	1805 or Jan. 1806
1783.	RENÉ BRIAND, Sous-Gouverneur, 1797–1808	1808
1774.	Captain George Brisac	1780
1895.	Hon. Lawrence Brodrick	—

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1873.	ARTHUR GIRAUD BROWNING, F.S.A., Secrétaire, 1875–98; Sous-Gouverneur, 1898–1908	1908
1901.	Arthur Hervé Browning	—
1719.	PAUL BUISSIERE, Gouverneur, 1729–1739	1739
1741.	JEAN BUISSIERE, Gouverneur, 1776–1781	1781
1743.	André Girardot-Buissieres. *See* Girardot.	
1799.	Daniel Bureau, Secrétaire, 1801–1802	1807
1875.	Joshua Whitehead Butterworth	—
1718.	PIERRE CABIBEL, Sous-Gouverneur, 1720–1739; Gouverneur, 1739–1745	1745
1856.	Frederic William Capper	1909
1910.	George Herbert Capper	—
1769.	[General] Jean Carnac, M.P.	1800
1752.	Abraham Castres	1757
1759.	Pierre Cazalet	1788
1800.	Guillaume Cazaly	—
1790.	Jean Henri Cazenove	1817
1838.	Philip James Chabot	1868
1736.	Jean Chalié	1746
1761.	Jaques Chalié	—
1769.	Jean Chalié	1803
1777.	Mathieu Chalié	1838
1795.	François Chalié	1810
1780.	Antoine Chamier, M.P.	1780
1781.	Jean Chamier	1831
1718.	Pierre Champion de Crespigny	1739
1734.	Phillipe Champion de Crespigny, Secrétaire, 1737–1765	1765
1760.	Claude Champion de Crespigny	1782
1718.	Jean Philippe Charles	—
1793.	Jean Charretié	—
1761.	François Chassereau	1767
1776.	Louis Chauvet	—
1811.	Thomas Chevalier	—
1874.	Edward Clapton, M.D.	1909
1865.	Charles Clark, Q.C.	—
1766.	Mathieu Clarmont	1772
1769.	Gabriel Clarmont, Trésorier, 1789–1794	1799
1723.	Antoine Clerembault	1758
1767.	Jean Clerembault	1784

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1865.	Charles Hastings Collette	1901
1751.	Antoine Colombies	1772
1738.	René de Comarque	1742
1782.	Gedeon Combrune	1810
1793.	Jean Cossart	—
1770.	Josias Cottin	1776
1767.	Jean Creuzé	1828
1877.	Daniel Cronin	1892
1896.	Walter Daniel Cronin	—
1898.	Rev. Harry Stovell Cronin, B.D.	—
1912.	James Curtis, F.S.A.	—
1755.	Simon Dalbiac	1758
1758.	Simon Dalbiac	1778
1756.	Jean Dargent	—
1762.	Jaques Dargent	(?)1810
1794.	Jean Théophile Daubuz	1831
1750.	Jean David	—
1879.	Captain John Davis, F.S.A.	1902
1803.	Richard De Barry	—
1783.	Joseph Debaufre	1823
1787.	Richard Debaufre	1837
1718.	Jacob Philippe de Bechevel de la Motte de Blagny	—
1732.	JEAN DE BLAGNY, Gouverneur, 1781–1789	1789
1721.	René De Boyville.	1743
1734.	Major Isaac De Bruse	1746
1738.	René De Comarque, M.D.	1742
1754.	Colonel Ruvigny De Cosne	1775
	De Crespigny. *See* Champion.	
1732.	Jaques De Foissac	1751
1721.	Jean L'Espinasse de Fonvive	—
1718.	[Rev.] Louis De Gaillardy. *See* under G.	1751
1728.	Estienne De Gulhon	1739
1740.	General Louis Dejean	*c.* 1764
1788.	Louis André de la Chaumette	1836
1791.	François David de la Chaumette	—
1798.	Henry Antoine de la Chaumette	1802
1718.	René de la Combe de Cluset	—
1718.	GUY DE VIÇOUSE, BARON DE LA COURT, Gouverneur, 1722–1728. *See* under V.	—
1732.	Guy de Viçouse	1753

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1731.	Jean Delafôn	—
1769.	Philippe Delahaize	1769
1753.	Abraham Delamare	1762
1762.	Isaac Delamare	1778
1762.	Jacob Delamare	1769
1757.	John Delamare	1794
1848.	James De La Mare	1859
1858.	James De La Mare	—
1861.	Francis De La Mare	1872
1900.	Andrew James Delamare	—
1718.	Albert De Lande	1747
1767.	Abraham De La Neuvemaison. [Apparently the Abraham Newhouse, whose will was proved in 1786.]	
1740.	Captain Pierre De La Primaudaye	1741
1759.	Pierre Henry A. De La Primaudaye	1793
1761.	François De La Primaudaye. [In 1783 living in France.]	—
1787.	Estienne De La Primaudaye	1835
1856.	Warren De la Rue, D.C.L., F.R.S.	1889
1861.	William Frederick De la Rue	—
1718.	Nicholas de la Sabliere. *See* Rambouillet	1721
1754.	David Delavau	—
1723.	Jean Remy De Montigny	1734
1721.	Jean [de Villettes] de Montledier. *See* under V.	1731
1718.	François de Pontereau	—
1718.	Jean De Rossieres	1727
1740.	Charles De Sailly	1767
1718.	Henry de St. Colome	—
1780.	Charles De St. Leu	1821
1789.	Daniel De St. Leu	1797
1816.	Charles De St. Leu	1844
1877.	Daniel Desbois	—
1794.	David Des Carrieres	1807
1736.	Pierre Deschamps	1757
1757.	Pierre Deschamps	1770
1758.	Jean Deschamps	1776
1771.	Jean Deschamps	1810
1718.	Louis Des Clouseaux, Trésorier, 1718–1719	1721

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1765.	Phinée Deseret	1794
1795.	Jean Deseret	1797
1732.	CLAUDE [CROTTIER] DESMARETS, Sous-Gouverneur, 1759–1763.	1763
1760.	François Desmarets	1781
1798.	Jaques Louis Desormeaux	—
1718.	Jaques Devaux [also written Deveau]	—
1760.	Jean Devaynes	1801
1770.	Guillaume Devaynes, M.P.	1810
1770.	Richard Devins	1807
1765.	Pierre Devisme	1771
1780.	Guillaume Devisme	1781
1788.	Gerard Devisme	1798
1892.	Robert William Dibdin, Secrétaire, 1898	—
1794.	Pierre Dollond	1820
1819.	George Dollond	1852
1853.	George Dollond	1866
1726.	Louis Benjamin D'Olon	—
1788.	Simeon Droz	—
1731.	Thomas Du Bisson	1775
1775.	Jean Du Bisson	c. 1823
1885.	Rev. Francis Houssemayne Du Boulay	—
1718.	Pierre Jaques Du Desert-Dieu [also written Dieu-du-Desert]	1745
1718.	Paul Du Four, Trésorier, 1719–1739	1739
1737.	Jaques Dulamon	1761
1783.	Auguste Dumaresq, Captain R.N.	—
1892.	Henry John Fairrie Dumas	—
1896.	Hugh Charles Sowerby Dumas	—
1910.	Gerald Piers Dumas	—
1779.	Jean Isaac Dumoustier	1785
1737.	Armand Lallonhé Du Perron	1749
1794.	Gainsborough Dupont	1797
1726.	Jean Duprat de Charreau	—
1769.	Jean Durand, M.P.	1788
1824.	Jean Charles Durand	—
1742.	FRANÇOIS DUROURE, Secrétaire, 1765–1785; Sous-Gouverneur, 1785–1797	1808
1781.	Jean Duroure, F.R.S., F.S.A.	1801
1749.	Pierre Dutens	1761
1767.	Pierre Dutens	1775

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1873.	Jonathan Duthoit	1886
1776.	Jean Duval	1807
1777.	Louis [Jean François] Duval	—
1786.	DAVID DUVAL, Sous-Gouverneur, 1813–1836	1836
1826.	PHILIPPE SMITH DUVAL, Sous-Gouverneur, 1859–1876	1883
1826.	Louis Duval	1844
1845.	Henry James Duval	1873
1859.	Rev. Philip Snaith Duval	1878
1883.	STEPHEN SMITH DUVAL, Trésorier, 1903–1909; Sous-Gouverneur, 1908	—
1898.	Rev. Stephen Peachey Duval	—
1908.	Herbert Philip Duval	—
1908.	Walter John Duval	—
1838.	Rev. Richard Edwards	—
1848.	Henry Emly	—
1877.	Edward Prichard Evans	—
1894.	Reginald Stanley Faber, F.S.A.	1908
1859.	Charles James Fâche, Secrétaire, 1863–1874	1885
1904.	Edward Charles Fâche	—
1911.	Gordon L. M. Fâche	—
1782.	Abraham Favenc	1798
1805.	Abraham Favenc, Trésorier, 1808–1811	—
1826.	George Rice Fellowe	—
1795.	Jaques Fenoulhet	—
1805.	Jean Ferard	1834
1732.	James de Foissac	1751
1842.	Viscount Folkestone. *See* Bouverie.	
1721.	Jean de L'Espinasse de Fonvive	—
1910.	Ronald Mylne Ford	—
1735.	Alexander Forrester	—
1740.	Gabriel Fouace	1753
1769.	Michael Fountaine	1792 or 1793
1827.	George Fournier	1841
1776.	Jean Fremont	—
1771.	Pierre Nicolas Frisquet	—
1718.	Philippe Fruchard	—
1749.	Jaques Fruchard	1768
1718.	Louis de Gaillardy	1751

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1783.	Robert Galhié	1810
1729.	Jaques Gambier	1745
1752.	Pierre Garnault	1762
1762.	Aymé Garnault	1782
1740.	Jaques Marc Gastine	1784
1808.	J. Pierre Gaugain	—
1720.	JAQUES GAULTIER, Trésorier, 1740–1745; Gouverneur, 1745–1748	1748
1741.	PIERRE GAUSSEN, Trésorier, 1745–1756; Sous-Gouverneur, 1756–1759	1759
1755.	[Jean] Pierre Gaussen, Trésorier, 1779–1788	1788
1780.	Pierre Gaussen, jun.	1781
1782.	Samuel Robert Gaussen	1812
1878.	Robert William Gaussen	1880
1881.	Robert George Gaussen	—
1906.	Henry Gervis, M.D., F.S.A.	—
1747.	Jean Gignoux	1769
1780.	Daniel Giles	1800
1811.	Jean Gilman	—
1743.	ANDRÉ GIRARDOT-BUISSIÉRES, Sous-Gouverneur, 1763–1779	1779
1770.	Tillieux Girardot	1793
1776.	André Girardot, Secrétaire, 1792–1797	1810
1829.	RICHARD HERVÉ GIRAUD, Secrétaire, 1836–1856; Trésorier, 1854–1876; Sous-Gouverneur, 1876–1886.	1886
1874.	Francis Frederick Giraud	—
1742.	Jaques Godin, Trésorier, 1756–1762	1762
1758.	Giles Godin	—
1769.	Estienne Pierre Godin	1787
1760.	Gédéon Gosset	1785
1764.	Isaac Gosset	1799
1778.	Jacob Gosset	(?)1788
1820.	Pierre Paul Grellier	1828
1837.	Richard Grellier, Secrétaire, 1856–1863	1863
1878.	William Grellier	—
1795.	Guillaume Griffin	1808
1796.	Jean Griffin	1852
1809.	Claude Grignion	1837

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1787.	Pierre Guillebaud	1821
1769.	Jean Guillemard	1793
1785.	Isaac Guillemard	1816
1789.	Jaques Guillemard	1826
1793.	JEAN GUILLEMARD, Secrétaire, 1802–1810; Sous-Gouverneur, 1811–1813	1845
1810.	Daniel Guillemard, Trésorier, 1821–1822	1822
1819.	George Guillonneau, Secrétaire, 1822–1836; Trésorier, 1836–1854	—
1721.	[JEAN] HENRI GUINAND, Sous-Gouverneur, 1739–1755	1755
1756.	Henri Guinand	1785
1767.	Pierre Guinard	1780
1728.	Estienne de Gulhon	1739
1756.	Estienne Guyon	1779
1771.	Henry Guill. Guyon	—
1831.	Jean Guyon, Capt. R.N.	—
1855.	Richard Habberfield	—
1846.	Henry John Haines	—
1860.	Henry Joseph Rosselloty Haines	1890
1912.	Francis de Havilland Hall, M.D.	—
1899.	Lewis Duval Hall	1909
1843.	Philip Hanbury	1878
1766.	Jean Hanet	—
1765.	Benjamin Harenc	1812
1749.	Jaques Hays	1763
1769.	Pierre Herisson [will proved in name of P. Harisson]	1785
1720.	PHILIPPE [OR PHILIBERT] HERVART, BARON D'HUNINGUE, Gouverneur, 1720–1721	1721
1765.	Guillaume Hervart	1780
1776.	Salomon Hesse	1795
1866.	Dennis de Berdt Hovell	1888
1896.	Robert Hovenden, F.S.A.	1908
1763.	Jacob Jamet	—
1787.	Jean Jamet	—
1769.	Sir Stephen Theodore Janssen, Bart.	1777
1795.	Samuel Jaumard	1827
1779.	Louis Jouenne	—

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1818.	François Jolit	—
1836.	Thomas Russell Jolit	—
1856.	Thomas Henry Jolit	1856
1749.	Nicholas Jourdain	(?)1785
1834.	William David Jourdain	1878
1876.	Nevill Jourdain	—
1879.	Sir Henry John Jourdain, K.C.M.G.	1901
1779.	Jean Jourdan	—
1794.	George Jourdan	—
1725.	André Juillot [Julliot]	1726
1748.	Jean Jullian	1754
1902.	Arthur Barton Kent	—
1884.	Samuel Wayland Kershaw, F.S.A.	—
1731.	Josias Laborde	1757
1846.	John Labouchere	1863
1890.	Alfred Lafone	1911
1881.	George Lambert, F.S.A.	1901
1753.	Jean Luc Landon	1756
1764.	Jean Landon	1796
1799.	Jaques Landon	1812
1765.	Christophe Langlois	1790
1740.	Pierre Lapiere	(?)1757
1738.	Charles Laporte	1743
1734.	Samuel La Riviere	—
1847.	Sir George Gerard de Hochepied Larpent, Bart., M.P.	1855
1824.	Thomas Lawrance	—
1775.	Daniel Pierre Layard, M.D., F.R.S.	1802
1780.	Antoine Louis Layard, Major-General	1823
1780.	Jean Thomas Layard, Colonel.	1828
1721.	Charles LeBas	1734
1719.	[Albert] Le Blanc, Minister	1729
1787.	Robert Le Blond	1816
1718.	Jean Le Clerc de Virly	1731
1762.	Noé Le Cras	1801
1876.	Henry Lee	—
1847.	Henry Beaumont Leeson, M.D., F.R.S.	1872
1768.	Jean Lefevre	1790
1776.	Pierre Lefevre	1787
1724.	Gedeon Leglise	1756

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1718.	Thomas Le Heup	1737
1741.	Michael Le Heup	1749
1742.	Pierre Lemaitre	(?)1747
1818.	Michel Le Mann	1819
1794.	Paul Le Mesurier, Alderman, M.P.	1805
1736.	Jean Le Quesne, Chevalier	1741
1784.	Jean Le Souef	—
1791.	Pierre Le Souef	—
1721.	Jean L'Espinasse. *See* de Fonvive.	
1796.	Jean Levesque	(?)1797
1813.	PIERRE LEVESQUE, Sous-Gouverneur, 1841–1859	—
1777.	Samuel Lichigaray	1812
1748.	JEAN LOUIS LIGONIER, CHEVALIER DU BAIN, Gouverneur, 1748–1770	1770
1850.	Richard Harman Lloyd	1867
1741.	Jean Antoine Loubier	1744
1756.	Mathieu Loubier	1758
1769.	Jean Daniel Lucadou, Trésorier, 1794–1801	1802
1788.	Jaques Louis Lucadou	1819
1843.	Hollingworth Magniac	1868
1867.	Charles Magniac, M.P.	1891
1912.	Oswald Cecil Magniac	—
1775.	Cyrus Maigre	1792
1752.	Jean Jaques Majendie, D.D.	1783
1845.	Ashhurst Majendie	1868
1900.	Edouard Majolier	1908
1770.	Jean Malliet [Maillet]	—
1718.	Pierre Marchant	—
1731.	James Mare	—
1773.	Jean Marissal	—
1790.	Jean Marplay	—
1773.	Pierre Marriet	—
1757.	Jaques Martel	1771
1778.	Isaac Martel	—
1799.	Jean Martineau	1834
1799.	David Martineau	1840
1859.	Richard Martineau	1865
1804.	François Maseres, Cursitor Baron of Exchequer	1824
1741.	Jaques Massé	1761

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1783.	Jean Massu	—
1836.	Henry William Masters	—
1847.	Marmaduke Mathews [? Matthews]	—
1799.	Edouard Matthews	—
1770.	Jaques Matthias	1782
1770.	Vincent Matthias	1782
1787.	Gabriel Matthias	1804
1769.	Josué Mauger, M.P.	1788
1782.	Jaques Maze, jun.	1795
1718.	Rev. Philippe Menard, Ministre et Secrétaire, 1718–1737	1737
1780.	François Menet Living 1792	—
1870.	Francis Michell Kerr Mercier	—
1771.	Pierre Merzeau	—
1793.	Pierre Ferry Michel	1818
1769.	Hugues Minet	1813
1791.	Jean Louis Minet	1829
1791.	Isaac Minet	1839
1882.	William Minet, F.S.A.	—
1783.	Charles Minier	1790
1721.	Jaques Molinier	1755
1756.	Charles Molinier	1776
1906.	Lionel Monckton	—
1896.	Monier Faithfull Monier-Williams	—
1775.	Right Hon. Frederic Montagu, Conseiller Privé	1800
1723.	Jean Remy De Montigny	1734
1718.	David Montolieu, Baron de St. Hippolite	1761
1759.	Charles Montolieu	1759
1766.	Jaques Gabriel Montresor, Colonel	1776
1779.	Jean Montresor, Major-General	1799
1788.	Henri Tucker Montresor, Major-General, K.C.B., G.C.H.	1837
1815.	Daniel Moore	1828
1721.	Philippe Moreau	1733
1734.	Jaques Philippe Moreau	—
1729.	Jean Motteux	—
1759.	Pierre Motteux	1769
1763.	Jean Motteux	1793

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1812.	Abraham Jean Mouchet	1846
1814.	Jean Aldebert Mouchet	1837
1750.	Estienne Mounier	1770
1784.	Pierre Mounier	—
1859.	Herbert Moxon	—
1774.	Philippe Muysson	1784
1726.	Jean Narbonne	—
1788.	Jean Antoine Noguier	—
1860.	Charles Norris, Trésorier, 1887–1902	—
1760.	Pierre Nouaille	1809
1789.	Pierre Nouaille, jun.	1845
1751.	Pierre Ogier	1775
1771.	Louis Ogier	1780
1765.	Daniel Josias Olivier	1782
1726.	Louis Benjamin d'Olon	—
1869.	Frederick Ouvry, President S.A.	1881
1892.	Ernest Carrington Ouvry	—
1859.	Charles Panton	1882
1729.	Charles Payrené	—
1752.	Samuel Pechel, Maître en Chancellerie	1782
1772.	Sir Paul Pechel, Bart.	1800
1801.	Sir Thomas [Brooke] Pechell	1826
1846.	SIR HENRY WILLIAM PEEK, BART., M.P., Sous-Gouverneur, 1898	1898
1718.	Solomon Penny	1747
1774.	Jean Perchard	—
1794.	Pierre Perchard, Alderman	1806
1718.	Jean Perigal	1731
1769.	François Perigal	1824
1784.	Jean Perigal	1807
1901.	Edward Stanley Mould Perowne	—
1773.	Jean Louie Petit, M.D.	1780
1829.	Louis Hayes Petit, M.P.	1849
1845.	Louis Peter Petit	1848
1849.	Peter John Petit, Lieut.-Col.	1852
1858.	Rev. John Lewis Petit	1868
1895.	John Samuel Phené, LL.D., F.S.A.	1912
1866.	Frederick [Adolphus] Philbrick, Q.C.	1910

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1755.	Jean Pigou	—
1754.	David Pilon	—
1855.	Parke Pittar	1884
1872.	William Parke Pittar	—
1880.	Parke Mayhew Pittar	—
1766.	Pierre Planck	1771
1766.	Antoine Planck	1782
1812.	Pierre Planck	—
1789.	Jacob Pleydell Bouverie	
1803.	Guillaume Pleydell-Bouverie	
1842.	Jacob Pleydell-Bouverie	*See* Bouverie.
—	Guillaume Pleydell-Bouverie	
1900.	Jacob Pleydell-Bouverie	
1855.	Arthur Becher Pollock	1881
1874.	Bernard Bedwell Portal	—
1881.	Frederick Welch Portal	—
1909.	Sir William Wyndham Portal, Bart., F.S.A.	—
1849.	Joseph Pouchon	—
1799.	Pierre Pousset	(?)1810
1740.	Captain Pierre de la Primaudaye	
1739.	Pierre Henri A. de la Primaudaye	*See* under D.
1761.	François de la Primaudaye	
1787.	Estienne de la Primaudaye	
1718.	Moise Pujolas, Gouverneur, 1728–1729	1729
1819.	Guillaume Pulley	1836
1820.	Guillaume Miles Pulley	1847
1820.	Joseph Pulley	1843
1821.	Henri Pulley	—
1846.	Joseph Pulley	—
1790.	Hon. Philippe Pusey	1828
1803.	Jaques Racine	—
	Earls of Radnor. *See* Bouverie.	
1718.	Nicholas [de Rambouillet] de la Sabliere	—
1725.	Antoine de Rambouillet	1750 or 1751
1747.	Estienne David Ravaud	1776
1740.	Edouard Ravenel	1775
1759.	André Reignier [Regnier]	1769
1718.	Pierre Reneu	1729
1802.	Pierre Renvoizé	1842

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1725.	Isaac Reynous	1751
1771.	Daniel Richard	1793
1723.	Moise Rigail	1741
1734.	Samuel La Riviere. *See* under Ir.	
1751.	Isaac Roberdeau	1773
1786.	Jean Pierre Roberdeau	1815
1718.	Jaques Robethon	1746
1721.	RIGHT HON. JEAN ROBETHON, CONSEILLER PRIVÉ, Gouverneur, 1721–1722	1722
1770.	Pierre Romilly	1794
1779.	Thomas Pierre Romilly	1828
1786.	Sir Samuel Romilly	1818
1865.	George Thomas Romilly	—
1882.	William, 2nd Lord Romilly	1891
1782.	Jaques Rondeau	(?)1849
1718.	Jean de Rossieres	1727
1843.	John Roumieu	1855
1856.	Robert Lewis Roumieu, Trésorier, 1876–1877	1877
1861.	Edward Abraham Roumieu	1871
1869.	Rev. John Joseph Roumieu	—
1876.	Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu	—
1878.	Raymond Louis Roumieu	—
1720.	Jaques Roussy	1733
1766.	Guillaume Ruffane, General	1773
1718.	HENRI DE MASSUÉ, MARQUIS DE RUVIGNY, COMTE DE GALWAY, Gouverneur, 1718–1720	1720
1759.	Jean Sabatier	(?)1780
1740.	Charles de Sailly	1767
1791.	Gedéon Saint	1799
1729.	Charles Saint-Maurice	1746
1740.	Pierre Auguste Samson	—
1790.	Pierre Antoine Sapte	1809
1718.	[Rev.] Louis Saurin	1749
1884.	Sir Joseph Savory, Bart.	—
1718.	[Rev.] Claude Scoffier	1730
1899.	Lewis Boyd Sebastian	—
1907.	Gerald Noel Boyd Sebastian	—
1718.	Estienne Seignoret	1719
1719.	Pierre Seignoret	1738
1818.	Guillaume Denison Sevestre	—

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1867.	CHARLES JOHN SHOPPEE, Trésorier, 1877–1887; Sous-Gouverneur, 1887–1897	1897
1811.	Sir John Silvestre, Bart., F.R.S.	1822
1818.	Jean Vatas Simpson	—
1847.	Thomas Smart	—
1867.	James Smart	1886
1866.	Edward Smith, M.D., F.R.S.	1874
1911.	William Teulon Swan Sonnenschein	—
1731.	Pierre Soulegre	c.1760
1860.	Thomas Stone	—
1718.	Jaques Tabart	(?)1746
1727.	— Tacher, Ministre [Pierre de Tascher]	1731
1848.	Thomas Butts Tanqueray-Willaume	1871
1849.	Charles Tanqueray	1865
1747.	Estienne Teissier [printed Tessier]	1780
1762.	Louis Teissier	1811
1776.	Charles Teissier	1810
1781.	Estienne Teissier	—
1862.	Samuel Sanders Teulon	1873
1863.	William Milford Teulon	1900
1864.	Seymour Teulon	1876
1866.	William Hensman Teulon	1899
1718.	Thomas Thomas	—
1736.	Pierre Thomas	1764
1766.	Thomas Thomas	1791
1776.	Ivon Thomas	1793
1794.	Mathieu Thomas	(?)1812
1735.	Daniel Thouvois	—
1853.	John Joseph Tiercelin	—
1735.	Pierre Tirel	—
1772.	Jean Tirel-Morin	1807
1804.	Michel Pierre Touray	—
1852.	Peter Touray	1868
1776.	Jean Travers	1809
1718.	Pierre Triquet	1730
1756.	Pierre Triquet	—
1899.	John Tryon, Trésorier, 1909	—
1909.	Claude Francis Henry Tryon	—
1718.	Louis de Tudert	1739

YEAR OF ELECTION.		YEAR OF DEATH.
1770.	Leonard Turquand	1814
1777.	Jaques Louis Turquand	1825
1825.	Guillaume Turquand	1849
1849.	William Turquand	1894
1756.	Daniel Vautier	—
1794.	Pierre Vere	—
1777.	Jean Daniel Vernezobre	*c.* 1791
1757.	Daniel Vialars	1786
1718.	GUY DE VIÇOUSE, BARON DE LA COURT, Gouverneur, 1722–1728	—
1732.	Guy de Viçouse	1753
1776.	Emeric Vidal	1790
1769.	Colonel Charles Vignoles	1780
1721.	Jean Jaques [de Villettes] de Montledier	1731
1753.	Artus de Villettes	1776
1777.	Henry Clinton de Villettes, Lieut.-Gen.	1793
1779.	Guillaume Anne de Villettes, Lieut.-Gen.	1808
1828.	Jean Robert Vincent	—
1865.	Henry Wagner, F.S.A.	—
1909.	Orlando Henry Wagner	—
1824.	Seth Etienne Ward	1845
1912.	Allan Ogier Ward, M.D.	—
1878.	Edgar Lutwyche Waterlow	—
1857.	John Francis White	1888
1848.	John Butts Tanqueray Willaume	—
1794.	Robert Williams, M.P.	[1] 1847
1836.	Frederic Albert Winsor, Secrétaire, 1874	1874
1829.	Edouard Wyndham	—

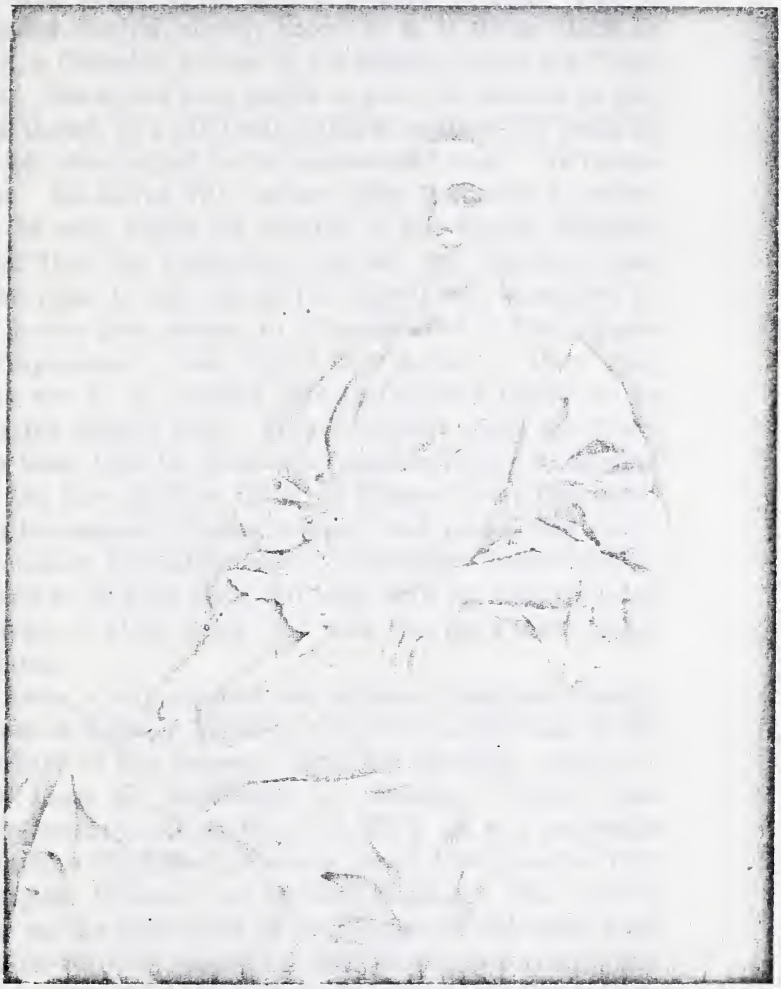
[1] Presumably, Robert Williams (1767–1847) of Bridehead, Dorset, a Banker and Alderman of London, and M.P. for Dorchester. But it may have been his father, Robert Williams (1739–1814), also a London Banker and M.P. for Dorchester, who had married in 1761 Jane, daughter of our Director, Francis Chassereau (1729–1767), a lady who died in 1841 at the notable age of 101.

The 'Memoires pour mes Enfans' of Marie Molinier, Baroness Montolieu de St. Hippolyte.

Communicated by HENRY WAGNER, F.S.A.

This delightfully naïf narrative of the escape from France of Marie Molinier is derived from a copy in the handwriting of her granddaughter, Lady Burges, and for the accompanying photogravures we are indebted to the kindness of this lady's great-grandson, Sir Archibald Lamb, of Beaufort, in Sussex. For his introduction to it the present copyist is much beholden to Lady Head, who lent a transcript of it to the library of the French Hospital.

Since a pedigree is subjoined to elucidate the writer's connexions it will suffice here to say that she was the third child and only daughter of Antoine Molinier, a merchant of Cournonterral, and Alix, or Elizabeth, daughter of Jaques Baudoin, a merchant of Nismes and Madelaine Fayolle. The inspiring uncle, Jaques II, under whose influence apparently it was that M. Molinier made good his escape in advance of that of his family, is found later a prosperous London merchant, resident at Putney, in a house built by himself within sight of the present bridge, still known as Winchester House, but now become the premises of the Putney Constitutional Club. His monumental inscription has been already recorded in Vol. I. pp. 289–90, by Mr. J. T. Squire in his paper on 'Mount Nod Cemetery,' and need not here be repeated. He died a nonagenarian, and his will, made in 1733, 'about the end of the four-score and fifth year' of his age, is pleasingly characteristic and not lacking in interest. It embodies a prayer. He is to be buried 'without flamboys, escutcheons, or hangings.'



Marie (Molinier) Baronne Montolieu
de Saint Hippolyte
(1684–1777)

His brother, if he will come out of France, to enjoy 'freedom of body and mind,' is to have a pension of 200*l.* This is the Brigadier-General, already known to us as aiding Marie in her flight, a Chevalier we fear in the testator's eyes not 'sans reproche.' For he had been unable to find it in his heart to quit his Paris, though by a will made within a month of his death in 1741 he left what he had to his nephews and niece. To return to James. He leaves with various other charitable bequests, 500*l.* to be paid within six months to the French Hospital 'provided that the gentlemen who are the Directors shall grant the right to my heiress [his niece] and successors of putting in two poor persons to be maintained at the expense of the Corporation'; but, should they decline to allow this, that sum was to be invested, and the interest thereof to be given to the French poor. From a codicil made five years later we learn that his sister and another highly interesting legatee, the Rev. Paul de Claris de Florian[1] were then dead, and that his nephew, Charles Molinier 'had passed fifty years, and his bodily infirmities cannot reasonably incline him to marry, and to load his mind and body with the heavy burden of marriage, of which many who were free have made themselves slaves.'

The name, a very common one, appears throughout (except in the case of Madame Molinier, who, in a vainglorious mood, born perhaps of the occasion, signs her marriage register in 1677 as Lison *de* Baudouin), as Baudoin. Neither René Baudouin (recently referred to in Vol. IX. p. 581 as a progenitor of the Earls of Chichester), who was joined with James in 1718 as an original Director, nor Davière Baudouin, who was his colleague on the committee of distribution of the relief fund during 1706–10, were related to him, though conceivably the latter, who was one of several fugitives from the Île de Rhé, may have been of the same stock as that of Pierre Baudouin, who, hailing from La Rochelle, reached America via Ireland in 1686, and had for grandson the celebrated governor of Massachusetts, James Bowdoin.

[1] See note *post*, p.185.

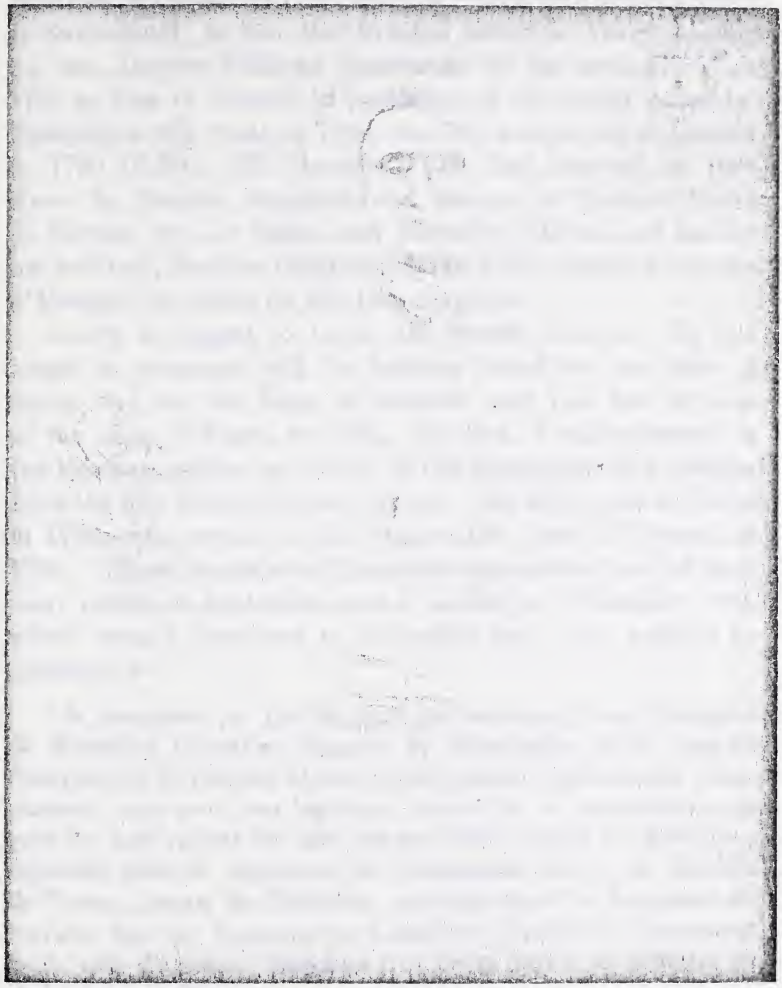
Of the Molinier brothers, James occupied what was known as 'Molinier House,' at Putney Gutter.[1] His wife and daughter, Dame Adams, had predeceased him, and his two grandsons, who both became Members of Parliament, inherited a considerable fortune. To Charles, who survived his brother some twenty-one years, the French Hospital was indebted for a legacy of 200*l.*, as also a provision for apprenticing out two lads.

The Arms of Baudoin would appear from the seal attached to the will to have been: . . . in chief, three mullets[2]; in base a demi-lion rising from the sea, and grasping a dagger. Those of Molinier were: Azure, a cross moline, double parted and voided ermine.

An attempt to trace the fortunes of the Montolieu family must needs be a long story. Our David was the fifth of six sons born of his marriage in 1660 with Jeanne de Froment, daughter of Nicolas de Froment, Sieur de Saint-Jean-de-Ceirargues and Marie Du Roure, to Pierre de Montolieu, himself the eldest of the four sons born of his marriage in 1624 with Catherine de Saurin to Claude de Montolieu, Sieur de Saint Hippolyte. Of the six brothers all but the youngest, Aymar, the Sieur de 'Lamat,' who is found as 'Conseiller de Cour et d'ambassade' at Berlin, where he was still living in 1744 (the date of David's will), sought, true to their family tradition, a career in the army. Claude, the eldest, had been a Lieutenant in the regiment of Limonsin, and on quitting France entered the Dutch service, though in 1688 he was in England, and it was at Geneva that he died in 1694. Jacques, the third son, who was in the Engineers, died at Metz of a wound received at one of the sieges of Luxemburg, either in 1684 or 1701. Théophile, second son, but since Claude's death the *chef de famille*, was a captain in the regiment of Normandy. He must have outwardly conformed, since he

[1] This, though shorn of its grounds, and now occupied as a laundry, still bears the name of 'Mouliniere.'

[2] The mullets seem clearly defined, but the allied coat of Baudouin is found to be azure, a demi-lion issuant from the base or, on a chief of the last three *roses* gules.



General David Montolieu
Baron de Saint Hippolyte
(1669–1761)

remained in France till 1729, when he retired with two daughters to Switzerland, to join the Refugee colony at Vevey, leaving his son, Jacques Philippe (mentioned by his uncle David in 1752 as then of Nismes) in possession of the family property. Théophile's will, made at Vevey in 1748, was proved in London in 1750 (P.C.C. 272, Greenley). He had married in 1695 Anne de Bornier, daughter and heiress of Captain Pierre de Bornier, Sgr. de Teillan and Vicomte d'Héran, and had for son and heir, Jacques Philippe, who in 1727 married Françoise d'Albenas, by whom he left two daughters.

Lastly in regard to Louis, the fourth brother. He had fought in company with his brother David for the Duke of Savoy and for the King of Sardinia, and had lost an arm at the siege of Turin, in 1706. He died, a major-general in the Prussian service, at Berlin, in the enjoyment of a pension from the two Powers he had served. His will, made at Berlin in 1736, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Ireland in 1739. Where it tells us of the previous generation and of their army record—a quotation, even if adding to a Montolieu note, which already threatens to be unduly long, may perhaps be pardoned :—

'Je reconnois que j'ai été payé par mon cher frère Théophile de Montolieu Chevalier, Seigneur de Saintepolite, de St Jean de Seirargues et de Taihlan, de tout ce que pouvoit legitimement m'appartenir, tant pour mes legitimes paternelles et maternelles, que pour des legs qui ont été faits par nos Oncles Louis de Montolieu, capitaine dans le Regiment de Vermandois, tué à la Bataille de Treves, Jaques de Montolieu capitaine dans le Regiment de Navarre tué en Flandres, et Aimard de Montolieu, Gouverneur de la ville d'Ustiano, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et militaire de St Louis . . .' &c.

He had married in 1696 Susanne de Pellissier, and had, besides several children who died young, two sons and two daughters, the latter being Susanne, baptised in Berlin, December 9, 1705, who became the wife of Lieut.-Colonel Henri le Chenevix de Béville (whose father, Benjamin, was cousin-german to the patriarch of the Irish Chenevixes), and

Marie baptised in Berlin, July 21, 1709, who married Lieut.-Général Frédéric Forcade de Biais.

Of the sons (1), the elder, Alexandre, received at an early age (in 1709) his commission in the regiment of the Hereditary Prince of Cassel. He ended his career in Switzerland—perhaps at Vevey, since in 1749 (see 'Lettres de Paul Rabaut,' i. 288) he was proposing to settle there, in the enjoyment of a pension from the reigning Duke of Würtemburg, to whose eldest son he had been tutor, and thereafter his Minister at Bern. His (Alexandre's) son, by a wife unknown, is stated to have ranked as a Colonel and aide-de-camp to the said Duke or his successor. (2) The younger son, Frédéric Charles, born at Berlin, July 30, 1704, married (see Galiffe's *Familles Genevoises*, iii. 511) Andrienne, daughter of Pierre Cramer and widow of Jean Louis Favre, born in the same year as himself. From certain Du Roure family papers, which have preserved for us some records of the four Montolieu brothers, Théophile, Louis, David, and Aymar, under the names of St. Croix, Canrieu, Lascour, and Lamat (the last perhaps a variant or corrupt rendering of De la Motte), we learn that the second son of Canrieu—

'eut 100,000 ecus avec sa femme, dont le père était un riche Banquier à Leipsick. Il fut fait peu après Chambellan' du Roy de Prusse, et fut obligé de quitter Berlin pour eviter les poursuites du Roy à l'occasion d'un pretendu pret d'argent fait au Prince Royal (à present Roy). Il est presentement à la cour de Wirtemburg,' &c.

He appears to have gravitated to either Vevey or Lausanne, and to have had a son, Louis, who was the last of the Swiss Montolieus. It is rash to hazard a guess in opposition to a statement of MM. Haag. But it seems impossible to believe that Jacques Philippe, of Nismes, the widower of Françoise d'Albenas, whom he had married in 1727, could fifty years later have become the husband of the distinguished Lausanne lady they allot to him. It seems next to certain that this Louis was the husband of Elizabeth Jeanne Pauline (1751–1832), daughter of Antoine Noé Polier de Bottens, and widow at the age of twenty-four, of Benjamin

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Pedigree to illustrate the "Mémoires pour mes Enfans" of Marie (Molinier) Baroness Montolieu de St. Hippolyte

P-160-789 04

Jaques Baudoin = Madelaine, dau. & 6th child of Jehan Fayolle, merchant, of Nismes, by Alix, dau. of Pierre Bernard; *b.* 10 Sept., 1625; *m.* 10 May, 1649.
merchant, of Nismes. "mis à l'inquisition."

- Jaques Baudoin
  b. 2 Sept., 1649. Settled as a refugee in London, and naturalised (by Act of Parlt., No. 22, 11 William III.) in 1699. *d.* 2 Feb., 1738-9. Will da. 1 July, 1733, pr. 15 March, 1738/9 (P.C.C. 48, Henchman). One of the original 39 Directors of the French Hospital, and its first Deputy-Governor, 1718-20.
- Alix, or Elizabeth = Antoine Molinier, merchant, of Cournonterral (Dépt. de l'Hérault).
  b. at Nismes, 10 Aug. and there bapt. 14 Dec., 1651; *m.* at the Temple, by M. Bruguier, 20 Feb., 1677.
  - Pierre Molinier
    b. 21 & bapt. 29 June, 1677 (*sponsors*, Pierre Molinier, and Alix Fayolle, widow of Pierre Bobouy). *d.* young.
    - Pierre Molinier
      b. 12 and bapt. 17 Mar., 1682.
  - James Molinier = Elizabeth, his cousin, dau. of Charles Fayolle, settled as a refugee in Geneva, by Gabrielle, dau. of Pierre Richard. *m.* at Cologny, 24 July, 1712; *d.* . . . 1736, and bur. at Wandsworth.
    b. 6 and bapt. 16 Feb., 1679 (*sponsors*, Jaques Baudoin, and Lucresse de Lau, of Cournonterral). Naturalised (by Act of Parlt., No. 22, 11 William III.) in 1699. Will da. at Wandsworth, 16 Mar., 1753, and pr. 7 June, 1755 (P.C.C. 166, Paul). A Director of the French Hospital, elected 5 July, 1721.
    - Charles
      Bapt. at St. Martin Orgar's, 22 Oct., 1714.
      - James
        Bapt. *ibid.* Mar., 1717/18.
        Both died young.
    - Gabrielle = Sir Richard Adams, Kt. = Mary Catherine, dau., by Mary Rabache, of Claudius Amyand, F.R.S. (who became a Director of the French Hospital in 1723), and sister to Sir George Amyand, cr. a baronet in 1764.
      m. 1751. First wife. *d.* 15 Mar., 1774. Recorder of London, 1748. Baron of H.M. Court of Exchequer, 1753. *b.* 29 April, 1726; *m.* 3 Jan., 1759; *d.* s. p. Second wife.
      - James Adams, LL.D. = Mary Ann Susanna, dau. and co-heir of Leonard Hammond, of Cheam (and sister of first Viscountess Sidmouth).
        b. 1752; *d.* 1816. M.P. for West Looe, 1784-90; Hindon, 1790-96; Bramber, 1796-1802; Harwich, 1803-6. A Lord of the Admiralty, 1801-4. *m.* 10 Sept., 1796; *d.* 6 April, 1833.
        - Mary Clara
          b. 3 July, 1751; *d.* 19 Jan., 1802, having *m.* 20 April, 1776, her cousin-german, Alexander, 7th Baron Elibank—whom see.
          =
        - Peter James
          b. 6 Apr., 1753; *d.* infant.
        - Charlotte Gabrielle
          b. 19 July, 1754; *m.* 27 May, 1783, Wriothesley Digby, of Meriden Hall, Co. Warwick, who *d.* s.p., 26 Oct. 1827, æt. 78.
        - Anne = Sir James Bland Burges (afterwards Lamb).
          b. 27 Mar., 1756; *m.* at St. George's, Hanover Square, 16 Dec., 1780; *d.* 17 Oct, 1810. Second wife.
          b. 8 June, 1752; *d.* 11 Oct., 1824, having *m.* firstly Elizabeth Noel, 2nd dau. of Viscount Wentworth, and thirdly, Lady Margaret (Lindsay), dau. of James, 5th Earl of Balcarres, and wid. of General Alex. Fordyce. M.P. for Helston, 1787; Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1789. Cr. Knight-Marshal and a Baronet, 1795. Assumed in 1821 the surname of Lamb only. [D.N.B., VII., 305.]
          See Baronetage.
      - Charles Adams
        b. 1753; *d. unm.* 15 Nov., 1821, M.P. for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, 1801-12.
  - Marie = David Montolieu, Seignenr de Saint Hippolyte, and (1706) Baron of the Holy Roman Empire.
    Bapt. at Nismes, at 3 days old, 30 Sept., 1684 (*sponsors*, Etienne and Marie Molinier). *m.* at St. Martin Orgar's, London, 26 April, 1714; *d.* 1777. Adm'on 1 July, 1777, to the dau., Mrs. Gideon Murray. *The writer of the memoir.*
    b. (?), 1669; *d.* in 93rd year, 9 June, 1761. Came to England in 1688 with William of Orange. At battle of the Boyne (1690) as Capt. in La Melonière's regt. Naturalised (by Act of Parlt., No. 3, 1 Anne) 1702. Served later under the Duke of Savoy, returning in 1713, on the peace of Utrecht, to England. Brigadier-General, 1727; Major-General, 1735; Lieut.-General, 1739; General, 1761. One of the original 39 Directors of the French Hospital, 1718. Will da. 1 Sept., 1744. Pr. by the widow, 3 July, 1761 (P.C.C. 258, Cheslyn).
    - Elizabeth = Hon. Rev. Gideon Murray, D.D., (3rd son of the 4th and brother to the 5th and 6th Barons Elibank).
      Bapt. at St. Martin Orgar's, 24 Feb., 1714/5 (*sponsors*, James Baudoin, and Elizabeth Molinier, great-uncle and grandmother) *m.* 30 June, 1746; *d.* 21 Nov., 1796.
      b. 1710; *d.* 21 June, 1776. Rector of Carlton, Notts; Preb. of Lincoln, 1746, and of Durham, 1761.
      - Mary Clara = Alexander (Murray), 7th Baron Elibank. = Catherine, dau. of James Steuart, second wife; *m.* 1804.
        dau. of his maternal uncle, Louis Charles Montolieu, Baron de Saint Hippolyte. *b.* 3 July, 1751; *m.* 20 April, 1776; *d.* 19 Jan., 1802.
        b. 24 April, 1747; *d.* 24 Sept., 1820. M.P. for Co. Peebles, 1783-5; and Lord Lieut. thereof.
        See Peerage.
      - Charles
        b. 1 Jan., 1758.
        David
        b. 20 Jan., 1759.
        d. infants.
      - Louis Montolieu, F.S.A. = Maria Henrietta, dau. of James Modyford Heywood, of Maristow, Co. Devon. *m.* at St. George's, Hanover Square, 3 March, 1786; *d.* . . . .
        b. 15 Dec., 1761; *d.* 20 May, 1817; entered at Ch. Ch., Oxford, 1779, Lieut. during the war with America in the Yorks. Light Dragoons, disbanded in 1783. Later a banker in Pall Mall.
      - Hon. David Murray = *Elizabeth, 4th dau. and co-heir of the Hon. Thomas Harley (3rd son of Edward, 3rd Earl of Oxford), M.P. for City of London, and Lord Mayor in 1768. *m.* 8 Oct., 1783; *d.* 9 July, 1824.
        b. 10 May, 1748; *d.* 8 May, 1794. M.P. for Peebles, 1785; for New Radnor, 1790.
      - Elizabeth = James (Cranstoun), 8th Baron Cranstoun, Captain R.N.
        b. 15 Oct., 1759; *m.* at Darnhall, 19 Aug., 1792; *d.* s.p., aged 27, 27 Aug., 1797.
        b. 1755 Appointed Governor of Grenada, 1796, but *d.* before going out, accidentally poisoned, 22 Sept., 1796.
      - Thomas Montolieu
        b. 25 Nov., 1767; *d.* (suddenly at Astley's theatre) 30 July, 1805. Will da. 26 Jan., 1803. Pr. 6 Sept., 1805 (P.C.C. 655, Nelson). He *m.* Anne . . . .
  - Louis Charles Montolieu de Saint Hippolyte = Elizabeth, dau. of Peter Leheup (3rd son of Thomas Leheup, one of the original 39 Directors of the French Hospital), of Morden, by Clara, his wife, dau. of William Lowndes, of Winslow and Chesham, Bucks.
    Bapt. *ibidem* 18 May, 1719 (*sponsors*, Major-General Lonis Montolieu de Saint Hippolyte, his uncle, Charles and Elizabeth Molinier), Lieut.-Col. in the 2nd Troop of Horse Guards. A Director of the French Hospital, elected 1759. *d.* 13 Febr. 1776, and bur. at Wandsworth. Will da. 2 Dec., 1769, and pr. 27 Feb., 1776 (P.C.C. 85, Bellas).
    b. 5 Sept. and bapt. at St. Margaret's, Westminster, 1 Oct., 1728; *m.* 26 July, 1750; *d.* 177 . Adm'on granted 18 Feb., 1774, to the dau. Mary Clara (Lady Elibank).
  - Susanne Marie
    Bapt. *ibidem* 11 Dec. 1717 (*sponsors*, Jaques Molinier and Susanne de Saintipolite)(sic).
    d. unm., 1743, and bur. at Wandsworth.

* Her sister, and co-heir, Sarah Harley, had, in 1781, become the wife of Robert, 9th Earl of Kinnoul, whose mother was Henrietta, dau. of Peter Auriol.

[*To face p.* 161

de Cronsaz, who, though she brought him no family, has perhaps kept his name alive by her literary productions. She is credited with no less than forty-three publications.

To return to our English branch. The male line ended with David's grandson, Louis Montolieu (1761–1817), who is found, though for some ten years only, playing the part of a banker, as a partner in Hammersley's at 76 Pall Mall. In 1796 the firm consisted of Hammersley, Montolieu, Brooksbank, Greenwood, and Drewe; but in 1806 the second name disappears. There was an only son, Charles, who died *v.p.* while a student at Oxford, in 1809. But by his two daughters Louis had seven grandchildren. These two ladies were (1) Maria Georgiana, who married in 1822 Hugh Hammersley (1774–1840), of Pall Mall, and (2) Julia Fanny, who married, firstly, William Wilbraham, Captain R.N. (1781–1824), and secondly, Sir Henry Bouverie, G.C.B. (1785–1852), Governor of Malta, and a nephew of the first Earl of Radnor. To the eldest grandson, Hugh Montolieu Hammersley (1825–1896), who was of Ridgeway, Lymington, and had three daughters of his marriage with his cousin-german, Henrietta Bouverie, the present writer was much indebted for information.

The Arms of Montolieu were: Azure, a fleur-de-lis or between three crescents in chief and as many mullets in base argent. Supporters: two eagles reguardant, wings expanded and invected proper. The motto adopted by Baron David was 'Deo et principi,' while that of his brother Jaques appears to have been 'Per ardua surgo.'

Memoires pour mes Enfans.

Mes cheres Enfans,—J'ai cru necessaire pour vous affermir dans notre Sainte Religion, de vous faire part de ce qui est arrivé dans le Persecution en 1685 par la cassation de l'Edit de Nantes, sous la regne de Louis quatorze.

Comme j'espere que le Seigneur a benit les faibles efforts que j'ai faits pour vous former dans sa connoissance, et graver dans vos cœurs les instructions que je vous ai données de votre tendre enfance,

je le prie de tout mon cœur de vous donner le zèle de . . . pour la Verité, et de faire que votre Foi ne prenne d'autre guide que sa Sainte Parole divinement inspirée et profitable à enseigner et convaincre selon justice, afin que l'Homme de Dieu soit accompli et parfaitement instruit à bonne Oeuvre. Souvenez vous toujours de ce que le St Esprit dit dans le Chap. 8me, Verset 20, d'Esaie—à la loi et au temoignage que s'ils ne parlent point selon cette parole ici, il n'y aura point de Matin pour eux. Notre divin Sauveur dit—Enquerrez vous des Ecritures, c'est elles qui portent temoignage de moi. L'Eglise Romaine ayant laissé l'Ecriture Sainte pour suivre les imaginations des Hommes. Nos peres n'ayant pas pû rester dans leur Communion sans risquer leur Salut, ils ont été obligés de quitter leur Patrie, leurs Parens, et leurs biens, pour aller chercher dans les Païs Etrangers les Eaux saillantes en Vie Eternelle, puis que celles de leur Patrie etoient bourbeuses et empoisonnées, ce qui leur auroit donné la mort Eternelle.

Le Roi et son Clergé ayant résolu de nous oter nos privileges, et d'arracher le fondement de notre Religion Protestante de tout son Royaume, pour y reussir, ils y mirent plusieurs fois la main, en nous otant aujourd'hui un privilege, et demain un autre. L'on regla le nombre des personnes pour accompagner les Enterremens, on defendit aux Ministres de porter la Robe qu'en Chaire, les Chambres de justice leur furent otées. On deffendit aux Sages Femmes Protestantes de faire leur fonction sous peine d'une Prison perpétuelle, et l'on ordonna que les Sages Femmes Papistes seroient mises a leurs places.

Je naquis dans ce triste tems. Ma chere Mere etant prise de douleurs mon cher Pere fut incognito chercher la Sage Femme Protestante. Lui ayant donné un grand Manteau et un Chapeau elle se glissa dans la Maison etant toute effrayée d'etre decouverte. Elle pria ma chere Mere, quoi quelle fut dans un grand travail, de se mettre à la fenetre, pour appeller la Servante qu'on avoit exprés faire sortir a la Rue, afin que les Voisins ne s'apercussent point de son etat. Ma chere Mere etant delivrée, la Sage Femme s'en alla deguisée comme elle etoit venue. La Servante usa du meme tour que les Sages Femmes d'Egypte du tems de Pharaon : elle fut dire que sa Maitresse avait accouché toute seule. Comme le grand Orage de la Persecution par les Dragons avait deja fondé sur plusieurs Eglises de la Province et abbattu les Temples, l'on s'attendoit au meme sort pour l'Eglise de Nismes, c'est pourquoi je fus baptisée le lendemain de ma Naissance. Mon cher Pere ayant apris ques le

Dragons etoient arrivés a deux lieues de Nismes, et que le lendemain au Soir ils devoient entrer pour faire changer de Religion et abbattre l'Eglise, prit dabord la resolution de mon oncle Baudouin de sortir de son ingrate Patrie et de suivre l'ordre de son divin Maitre—Quand on vous persecutera dans une Ville, fuyez dans une autre ; il préféra son Salut à sa femme, à ses Enfans, à son Etablissement, et à son bien. Ce sacrifice qu'il fit fut sans doute agréable à son divin redempteur, puis qu'il a beni ses Enfans dans une terre etrangere. Le jour de son depart, il fit dire à ma Mere qu'il etoit obligé de s'en aller a Marseilles pour le payement de ses dettes; l'ayant embrassée, il prit mes deux freres sur ses genoux, en les baissant il fut couvert de larmes. Elle lui demanda le sujet de ses pleurs ; il lui repondit en soupirant, n'est-ce pas le tems de les repandre ? comme Abraham il ne dit rien de son dessein a sa femme ; il prit la route pour Geneve, où il arriva heureusement. Il ecrivit à ma chere Mere de suivre son exemple. Elle fut dans une grand Joye de sçavoir son cher Mari echapé de Naufrage, et en rendit graces au bon Dieu. Ayant vu toutes les cruautés que les Dragons avoient commis dans la Ville, elle se mit en devoir de suivre son Mari. Ce fut le quatrieme d'Octobre 1685 que les Dragons entrerent dans Nismes, pour faire changer de Religion et abbatre le Temple. Ma chere Mere ayant bien prévu qu'on lui enverroit de ces convertisseurs de Belezebub s'y prepara de son mieux. Deux de ces Satellites etant entrés lui signifierent que si leur Hotesse etoit Papiste ils ne vouloient manger que du Pain et du fromage, mais que s'ils etoient chez une Protestante ils vouloient tout fricasser, et pour bien commencer voyant un berceau dans lequel jetois, l'un d'eux dit, je vais mettre cette enfant à la broche ; setant un peu radouci par un present qu'on leur fit, ils furent se coucher, et le lendemain ils eurent ordre d'aller tous au Temple où ils commirent toutes sortes d'infamies, et apres l'abbatirent. Ma chere Mere cependant travaillait a faire lever ses dettes, avec l'aide de ses amis. Tout etant pret, elle arreta une litiere, pour aller à Lyons avec mes deux freres. Pour moi, il n'etoit pas possible de me prendre etant trop jeune. Ma chere Tante de B—— qui avoit elevé ma chere Mere, fut celle à qui ma Mere me donna pour tenir sa place. A trois heures du Matin on me leva du lit pour recevoir de ma chere Mere sa benediction ; en la recevant je pleurai si amerement qu'il sembloit que je sentois cette separation. Ma Mere etant partie toute seule pour prendre la litiere, ayant envoyé mes deux freres un peu devant, elle trouva dans son chemin un homme qui crioit de l'Eau de Vie, qui la voyant

lui dit—'l'Ange qui conduisit Tobie vous conduise.' Ma Mere etant arrivée à Lyons, mon Pere lui ecrivit de Geneve qu'il lui envoyoit un Homme et une Femme pour prendre mes Freres, qu'elle pouvoit les leur confier avec toute sureté, etant tres honnetes Gens, auquels le Curé de leur Paroisse donnoit un certificat que les Enfans qu'ils menoient etoient leurs Enfans : sans doute le bon Curé n'etoit pas content de ses revenus, et ce petit commerce le mettoit a son aise. Ces deux bonnes Gens etoient Frere et Soeur, et avoient sorti un grand nombre d'Enfans de France, et les mener a Geneve avec beaucoup de bonheur sans etre decouverts. Arrivés a Lyons ils vinrent trouver ma Mere et lui dirent qu'il falloit qu'elle acheta un ane pour porter les Enfans, et deux paniers pour les mettre dedans, et des vieux habits sur eux, afin qu'ils passassent pour leurs Enfans. Les ayant equippés suivant leurs desirs, il fallut que ma Mere fit entendre raison à ses Enfans pour les resoudre d'aller avec ces Etrangers, l'ayant fait, l'on les mit chacun dans son panier sur cette Bourique. Concevez l'affliction d'une Mere d'etre obligée de risquer ses Enfans à des inconnus. Ils arriverent heureusement a Geneve aupres de mon pere. Quelque tems apres ma Mere trouva un Guide pour elle qui etoit Suisse, elle sortit de Lyons avec plusieurs Dames et Messieurs. Apres bien de fatigues, elle arriva heureusement aupres de mon Pere et ses Enfans.

Pour moi jetois aupres de ma chere Tante, qui avoit pour moi la tendresse d'une Mere ; elle m'elevoit autant que mon age la permettoit dans la crainte du Seigneur avec une grande horreur pour l'Eglise Romaine. Ces impressions me furent un grand preservatif pour l'avenir. Je perdis cette chere Tante a l'age de dix Ans ; son regret fut de me laisser si jeune ; elle remplit en tout et partout la place de Mere ; elle me fit son Heritiere du bien quelle avoit. Mes Cousines Fayolles me prirent chez Elles et mauroient gardée, si une Tante, Soeur de mon Pere qui demeuroit a Cournon, n'etoit venue de la part de ma Grandmere me chercher. Ce fut la que j'eus tout le secours necessaire pour me fortifier contre le Papisme. Ils se faisoient souvent des Assemblées aux Environs de ce Village, ma Tante et mon Oncle Molinier n'en manquoient que rarement. J'avois prié instamment ma Tante de m'amener avec elle a une Assemblée, ce quelle fit. Je desirois avec ardeur de voir un Ministre. Cetoit a quelque milles de Cournon, dans un Bois, que l'Assemblée se fit. Nous partimes entre neuf & dix heurez du soir en Hiver, et marchames a travers des bruïeres, et de tems en tems nous trouvames des Sentinelles qui nous montroient le Chemin. Enfin nous arrivames au pied

d'une Montagne, qui nous offrit une ouverture comme celle d'un four, l'on nous fit entrer dans cette Grotte, où à ma grande surprise, je vis deux grande Chambres, qui alloient d'une à l'autre, et toutes remplies de Monde. Dans la premiere se rendit le Ministre habillé en officier, ce qui me surprit. Il prit pour son Texte 'Sortez de Babylone mon Peuple de peur que vous ne participies a ses plaies.' Apres le Sermon, ceux qui vouloient communier entrèrent dans l'autre Chambre où la Table etoit dressée. Il etoit environ quatre années que j'etois a Cournon, quand un Matin l'on vint avertir ma Tante qu'il etoit arrivé un Officier avec des Gardes de la part de l'Intendant[1] de Basville pour prendre quelques filles et les emmener au Couvent; Elle en fut toute Allarmée, et me fit cacher chez une de ses amies. Cet Officier, qui s'appelloit Burnier, vint chez elle pour me demander, et lui dit que Monsieur de Basville souhaitoit de me voir, et quelle me rameneroit avec elle. Ce fut un piege qu'il lui tendit quelle n'evita pas comme elle auroit pu. Elle vint me chercher dans mon azile comptant sur sa parole; mais Elle avoit oubliée que ces cruels ne tiennent point leurs promesses avec les heretiques comme ils nous appellent: ainsi je fus livrée a ces Vautours. Nous partimes pour Montpellier sur le Midi avec ma Tante, et deux jeunes filles qu'on avoit prises aussi. En arrivant a la Ville l'Officier nous mena chez lui, et nous dit qu'il alloit chez Monsieur de Basville pour savoir s'il etoit de loisir de nous voir. Il fit semblant de sortir, c'etoit encore une lure de sa façon, puis qu'il avoit l'ordre dans sa poche pour nous mettre au Couvent. Il vint quelque tems après nous dire qu'il venoit de chez Monsieur de Basville, qu'il etoit faché de nous apprendre que Monsieur l'Intendant lui avoit donné un ordre pour me mettre à l'Ecolle Royalle, avec une autre fille appellée Roquette, et l'autre à la Providence. A cet arret nous eumes beau pleurer et gémir, et ma Tante lui reprocher sa perfidie, il falut marcher dans le moment, il nous amena toutes deux à l'Ecolle Royalle, qui etoit une maison etablie pour mettre les filles Protestantes pour les convertir, et on entretenait aussi par charité six filles Papistes, qui travailloient en linge pour les Etrangers et qui servoient tour à tour de Servantes. La Superieure etoit une Parisienne nommée la Soeur de la Mer. En entrant elle nous fit un bon acceuil et la Soeur Gervaise de meme et nous dirent d'essuyer nos larmes, quelles auroient bien soin de nous. Dans cette Maison il y avoit deux Tables pour les Pensionnaires, l'une s'appelloit la

[1] Nicolas de Lamoignon de Basville was Intendant of Languedoc from 1687 to 1715.

Table des Pauvres, et l'autre celle des Riches, où on mangeoit avec les Soeurs. Je leur dit que je voulois etre mise à celle des Pauvres, mais elles ne voulurent jamais me l'accorder. L'on deffendit à ma Tante et à tous mes Parens de venir me voir. Cela m'affliga beaucoup, mais il falloit se soumettre sans repliquer. Aussi mes Parens furent ils bien observés tout le tems que j'y restois. Ils venoient chez un Potier d'Etain qui demeuroit vis-a-vis de l'Ecole, ou chez une Amie qui etoit a coté (tous les deux Protestans) pour me voir par la fenetre. Quelques Jours apres ma detention je vis arriver un Officier qui emmenoit quatre jeunes filles pour le meme cas que moi. Cette premiere vue m'affligea, mais dans la suite j'y trouvai des grandes consolations ; nous etions toujours à nous affermir l'une l'autre, à ne point faire attention à toutes les impressions que l'on vouloit nous donner sur la Religion. Les Soeurs s'en appercurent et donnerent ordre qu'une fille Papiste seroit toujours avec nous. La Soeur de la Mer faisoit de tems en tems l'office de Missionnaire. Elle vit que ses promesses et ses menaces ne gagnoient rien. Toutes nos reponses etoit le Silence. Il faut que je l'avoue que notre fermeté ne venoit pas par connoissance de cause, mais d'un prejugé de l'Enfance, et d'une grande horreur que nous avions du nom d'Idolatres, dont on nous avoit dit qu'ils etoient. La soir l'on faisoit la priere en Latin, jetois obligée d'y assister. Je n'y entendois rien, ni elles non plus. Je me mettois dans un Coin, et levant mon Coeur a mon Dieu, je le priois de m'oter de cette Babylone et de me mettre dans sa bergerie. L'Evenement me fit voir que le Seigneur avoit exaucé ma requete dans sa misericorde. Je sentis de plus en plus son divin secours et un eloignement pour leur religion. Comme j'ai deja dit la Soeur de la Mer voyant que ses raisons navoient fait aucun impression, elle s'avisa de nous faire voir un Ministre nommé Cabrol, qui avoit apostasié, apres qu'il nous eut fait un long discours, il crut à la mine que nous lui faisions que son sermon ne nous plaisoit pas. Il prit pour lors un ton de Colere et nous dit, petites opiniâtres, c'est bien à vous de resister, moi qui ai preché l'erreur si longtems dois bien mieux la connaitre, mais Dieu m'en fait la grace de m'en tirer ; apres cette harangue il se retira. L'on nous ordonna de l'accompagner, nous avions grande envie de le jetter par les degres. Il affecta pendant quelque tems de venir se mettre devant nous a la Messe, on il faisoit mille singeries. Un Jour de fete de quelque Saint la Soeur nous dit qu'il falloit jeuner, que le Saint pouvoit faire quelques miracles pour nous convertir. Nous resolumes de n'en faire, crainte de commettre un peché, nous volames

du Pain. La Soeur Gervaise ayant été prise d'une violente fievre elle fut en si grand danger qu'elle se fit porter le Pain de la Messe. La Soeur de la Mer fut fort affligée et s'imagina que si les filles Protestantes alloient le chercher il auroit plus de Vertu pour la Guerison ainsi l'on nous deputa. Quand nous fumes à l'Eglise, le Clerc nous donna un Cierge allumé, je ne l'eus pas plutot à la main qu'il me prit une envie de rire, pour me cacher je tombai sur un des bancs et le Cierge s'eteignit. Ce fut un bonheur pour moi que le Pretre etoit à s'habiller dans la Sacristie, s'il mavoit vue il m'auroit fait faire penitence dans quelque Prison. Le Pretre etant sorti avec l'Hostie, nous le suivimes deux à deux jusques à la Maison. Nous n'avions pas la permission d'aller seules dans nos chambres par la crainte qu'elles avoient que nous ne fissions nos prieres. Un jour je trouvai le nouveau Testament de Louvain qu'on avoit imprimé pour satisfaire les Convertis, qu'ils ont traduit a leur maniere : en l'ouvrant je trouvai le passage de St. Paul où il dit 'Mangez de tout ce qui se vend a la boucherie sans vous enquerrir pour la Conscience.' Je le portai a la Soeur et lui dit, pourquoi faire maigre, puis que cela ne fait rien pour la Conscience, Viande ou Poisson ? Elle fut si embarassée à me repondre que le Livre fut prit et caché, et je ne le vis plus. J'etois dans cette Maison depuis quelques Mois, quand je vis entrer une Demoiselle Papiste un peu parente de ma Tante ; ses habits annoncoient sa Religion à nos Soeurs etant habillée à peu pres comme elles. J'eus la permission de la recevoir Tete à Tete, l'on contoit quelle fit le Predicateur pour me faire changer de Sentiment. Elles se trompoient. Ce fut un instrument dont Dieu se servit pour me mettre dans l'Esprit de me sauver de cette Maison, comme on le verra dans la suite. Elle me donna des nouvelles de mes Parens, et m'assura qu'ils mettoient tout en oeuvre pour me faire sortir, qu'ils avoient fait plusieurs presens avec cette intention, mais que je ne devois pas me flatter que cela put reussir. Qu'etant une Orpheline on s'attachoit plus a ses Enfans la qu'aux autres par l'Esperance que s'ils venoient à me gagner n'ayant ni Pere ni Mere, ils feroient une oeuvre meritoire, qu'ainsi il falloit tacher de me sauver et prendre bien mon tems pour cela. Je la remerciai de son avis, et lui dis que je faisois mon possible pour en profiter. Elle faisoit son séjour a Cournon, ainsi elle mettoit une assez grande intervalle entre ses visites. Il arriva peu de tems apres une exemple qui me determina tout a fait de suivre son Conseil. L'on amena deux filles d'une Ville nommée St Hyppolite, elles arriverent le Soir, le lendemain on les obliges d'aller a la Messe. Elles y furent,

mais quand on voulut sortir elles ne se trouverent point. Les Soeurs firent grand bruit de cette evasion, disant qu'on sauroit bien les trouver, et cela pour nous intimider à ne pas les imiter. Pour moi j'avois deja pris mon parti. Dans le tems que mon projet rouloit dans ma tete, cette fille nommée Roquette (prise en meme tems que moi) fut saisie d'un violent mal de Gorge, comme elle etoit pauvre les Soeurs ne firent point grande difficulté de la renvoyer chez son Pere pour se guerir, à condition pourtant qu'elle reviendroi. quand elle seroit bien. Elle se garda bien de le faire, et s'en alla a Nismes pour se cacher, le bon Dieu la garda là pour etre ma compagne en sortant de France. Une amie que j'avois qui demeuroit vis a vis du Couvent craignant qu'on ne la mit dedans, venoit souvent à la Messe avec nous. Ce fut la que je lui decouvris mon dessin. L'on nous avoit donné un livre a chacune, ce livre en lieu de le lire me servoit à lui parler des mesures qu'il me falloit prendre pour m'evader. Elle me promit ses bonnes offices, et une retraite chez son Oncle. Au retour de l'Eglise je mis la main a l'oeuvre. Ma Blanchisseuse qui etoit Protestante venant chercher mon linge, je mis adroitement dans le Pacquet tous mes habits sans que personne s'en apperçut pour les porter chez ma Tante. Ce fut le prem^r de Novembre jour de la Tous-Saint que je pris la resolution de m'echapper, parce que ce jour la il devoit avoir un Sermon le Soir. Je pensois qu'en retournant de l'Eglise à la faveur de l'obscurité je pourrois m'evader, mais le Seigneur qui conduisoit tous mes pas, ne le permit pas. Le Sermon etant fini, je crüs que les Soeurs nous laisseroient passer dans la foule comme elles faisoient le Matin, mais la fuite de ces Demoiselles (de St Hyppolite) les avoient rendues plus exactes, ainsi elles nous ressemblerent toutes comme un troupeau de Moutons dans une Chapelle de l'Eglise, jusque tout le Monde etoit sortit, alors l'un se mit à la tete et l'autre à la queue, nous marchames deux a deux comme les Soldats montent la Garde. Voyant mon projet manqué, je fus dans un Affliction inexprimable. Je rentrai dans la Maison affligée jusque a l'ame. Il faut ici que je dise, pour bien comprendre ce qui suit, comment je pouvois sortir de cette Maison, que les Soeurs n'etoient que logeuses, et navoient que le premier Etage, qui consistoit en quatre grandes Chambres, une pour l'Ecole, les autres pour les Soeurs avec quelques Pensionnaires Papistes et deux Protestantes. Tout cet Appartement etoit fermé par une Porte au second Etage. Il y avait une grande Chambre ou il y avoit six lits, pour coucher deux à deux. J'etois de ce nombre là. Le jour nous etions renfermés dans la premiere Chambre du

premier Etage, et nous ne montames que pour nous coucher. La Porte de la Rue etoit ouverte tous les Jours, et ne se fermoit que quand la Maitresse du Logis le trouvoit à pro-pos. En arrivant de l'Eglise, j'etois entrée dans le premier Appartement, il etoit presque Nuit, et pleuvoit un peu. J'etois dans un coin a me lamenter dans mon cœur, lors que le puissant de Jacob vint a mon secours. C'est a lui seul que je dois ma deliverance et non à aucun secours humain, son doigt y est marqué dans les circonstances. J'etois dans une grande amertume, sans imaginer aucun moyen pour m'en tirer, quand il me vint dans l'Esprit d'aller me deshabiller, ne me rappellant pas que je n'avois point de Robe à mettre, les ayant envoyées, comme j'ai dit, à ma Tante. Je fus machinalement demander permission à la Soeur la Mer de me laisser monter à ma Chambre, elle me l'accorda et me donna deux filles Papistes pour m'accompagner, ne voulant pas me laisser seule. Ces filles couchoient dans la meme Chambre. Etant entrée je m'assis au pied du lit pres de la Porte fort reveuse. Ces filles commencerent de se déshabiller et me demandeient pour quoi je ne faisois pas de meme. Dans le moment le bon Dieu me mit dans l'Esprit de descendre et comme il arriva à St Pierre l'Ange me prit par la Main. Je me levai sans sçavoir ceque je faisois, les filles etant moitie deshabillées ne purent me suivre. Etant descendue je me plantai devant cette Porte qui renfermoit toute la Societé, ne sachant ceque je devois faire, ou de frapper ou de descendre les autres degrés qui menoient a la Rue, je levai mon Coeur avec ardeur à mon Dieu en recitant le Psaume 142 en memoire de mon cher Grand Pere Baudouin qui avoit ete mis à l'inquisition [Je donnerai son Histoire dans la suite] me rappellant que j'etois dans le meme cas, je me servois de mêmes moyens, en priant celui qui peut delivrer de la Gueule des Lions disant Tire moi de cette Prison afin que je chante ton Nom ! Soudain je me sentis un si grand courage que je descendis le degré, et me fus cacher derriere la Porte, où il y avoit une petite Grille. J'ai oublié de dire que le Matin à la Messe j'avois dit à mon Amie que j'avois dessein de m'echapper le Soir en sortant de l'Eglise, elle me promit de rester à la Maison pour me donner tout le Secours dont j'avois besoin. Elle me tint Parole, car en regardant en travers la Grille, je la vis à cote de sa porte ne voyant personne quelle je sortis et me mis à courir de toute ma force chez le Potier. Il etoit seul dans sa boutique quand j'entrai, je le surpris si fort que sans me rien dire il courut à sa Femme qui etoit dans une Chambre à coté. Voila cette jeune Demoiselle, dit-il, qui s'est echappée du Couvent. Elle vint tout

effrayée et me dit helas que puis je faire pour vous ? Je la tirai d'embarras en lui disant d'appeller mon amie, ce quelle fit. Mon amie etant venue, elle voulait m'amener chez son Oncle. Comme nous etions pretes a partir, une femme entra, â qui l'on raconta l'affaire, ce fut comme une Architophel pour moi. Elle dit a mon Amie, qu'il me falloit changer de Robe, crainte que je ne fusse reconnue dans le Chemin, qu'elle devoit s'en aller chez elle et y rester, que l'on ne manqueroit point, dabord que l'on s'appercevroit de ma fuite de me venir chercher chez elle, puis qu'on sçavoit qu'elle me connoissoit. (Cela arriva comme elle avoit predit.) Cette Femme vouloit etre mon Guide pour m'amener chez l'Oncle de mon Amie, qui demeuroit a un des Fauxbourgs de Montpellier, etant arrivée chez cet honnête Homme il me recut d'une maniere si Evangelique qu'il fit mettre tous ses Enfans a Genoux et fit la priere pour rendre grace à Dieu de ma delivrance. Cette Femme s'en alla, et je ne l'ai vue ni connue depuis. Trois jours apres cet honnête Homme avec son Frere, Pere de mon Amie, furent à Cournon eux memes avertir ma Tante de mon evasion, n'ayant osé confier le secret à personne. Quelques jours apres mes Parens envoyerent un Ami à cheval pour me prendre et me mener à Cournon. Nous partimes a dix heures de soir, crainte detre reconnus, nous arrivames pres de Minuit à Cournon, chez la Demoiselle Papiste dont j'ai parlé qui vouloit bien me recevoir chez elle, pour que je fusse en sureté. Sa Maison etoit la premiere en entrant dans le Village, personne ne pouvoit me voir entrer, je trouvai tous mes Parens assembles ; la joie fut si grande de part et d'autre de me voir en liberté, que les larmes en firent la fete de cette premiere vue. Mes Parens venoient me voir tous les soirs sur les dix heures pour ne rien risquer. Un Matin la Demoiselle etant allée à la Messe, me trouvant seule, je me fus mettre sur un balcon, qui faisoit face en pleine Campagne. Je n'y avoir pas eté une Minute lorsque j'entendis une Voix qui me souhaitoit le bon-jour. Effrayée d'où venoit cette Voix je rentrai avec precipitation, je trouvai sur mes pas la Demoiselle qui revenoit de la Messe. Je lui racontai cequi m'etoit arrivé, elle voulut voir qui s'etoit, elle vit un Mâçon qui raccomodoit une cheminée. Toute troublée de cette mauvaise rencontre elle dit 'je ne puis plus vous garder, le Mâçon est Papiste, d'abord qu'il sçaura que vous etes echappée du Couvent, il ne manquera pas de m'aller denoncer.' Ceci m'affligea fort, mais le Seigneur dans sa grande Misericorde travailloit toujours a me tirer de cette Egypte, lorsque mes pensees etoient tous tournées pour y rester ; mes Parens avoient les memes

idées, q'apres que j'aurois etois cachée quelque tems l'orage seroit passée et que je pourrois me reproduire. Mais le bon Dieu ne permit pas cette imprudence qui m'auroit couté cher. L'on m'auroit reprise et si bien gardée que je n'aurais pû jamais rechapper, comme la suite le fera voir. La Demoiselle envoya chercher mes Parens, et leur raconta ma triste avanture, ils en furent tres touchés, ne sachant où me mettre, il fut decidé que je partirais pour Nismes, ou j'avois des Cousines. L'on pria le meme ami qui m'etoit venu chercher a Montpellier de m'accompagner a Nismes, ceque il fit. J'avois outre mes Cousines, un ami de la Famille nommé Monsr. Bosquet riche Negociant, qui avoit ordre de mon Oncle le Brigadier Baudouin de me fournir tout ceque j'avois besoin. Etant arrivée à Nismes, je fus descendre chez mes Cousines qui avoient deja appris ma desertion. Je remerciai mon Conducteur et lui dis un dernier adieu. Mes Cousines me recurent non sans une grande Frayeur, craignant que je ne fusse decouverte chez elles ; de mon coté l'idée d'etre reprise me donnoit des agitations si grandes, que souvent j'ai ete sur le point de me jetter d'une fenetre qui alloit sur des tuilles, où je me serois estropiée. Mes Cousines melant leurs alarmes avec les miennes, ne voulurent me risquer chez elles, et me proposerent d'aller trouver une bonne Amie de ma chere Mere, pour lui demander si elle vouloit bien me recevoir chez elle. Cette Dame nous reçut avec beaucoup d'amitie, mais quand on lui eut raconté mon Histoire, elle s'excusa de me prendre chez elle, disant qu'elle avoit une jeune fille au Couvent, et qu'on lui menaçoit de lui prendre son ainée. Son Mari qui etoit dans une Chambre a coté, qui avoit entendu tous nos discours, sortit tout â coup, et dit a sa Femme vous avez oublié que c'est l'Enfant de votre chere Amie, je veux tout risquer pour sa sureté. Nous le remerciames et je restai la. Pour l'ami Mon^r Bosquet, d'abord qu'il sçeut mon arrivée â Nismes, il fit sçavoir qu'il etoit a propos de ne pas me voir, etant connu pour un ami l'on pourroit me chercher chez lui ; il fit bien de prendre cette mesure, sans cette precaution il n'auroit pas eté quitte a si bon Marché qu'il le fut. Il conclut avec mes Cousines qu'il falloit chercher une Guide pour me sortir de France, sans quoi je serais reprise infailliblement. Elles connoissoient un Marchand Protestant qui avoit un Muletier qui faisoit ce Commerce. Il avoit sorti sa Mere, et les filles du Marquis de Rochegarde trés heureusement. Mes Cousines lui dirent mon cas. Il leur dit, qu'en huit jours il seroit a Nimes, et qu'il me recommanderoit particulierment, ce qu'il fit. Etant arrivés l'on fit Marché avec lui a cent Ecus ; il devoit

me trouver un cheval, et me deffraier de tout. Je lui demandai s'il n'avoit pas d'autre Personne pour me faire Compagnie dans le Voyage. Il dit qu'on lui avoit parlé d'une fille, mais qu'elle n'avoit pas la somme qu'il demandoit, qu'elle n'avoit que cent Francs, et qu'il vouloit cinquante Ecus. Le dessus Mon^r Bosquet dit qu'il falloit que ce fut moi qui acheve de faire la Somme plutot que de me laisser aller toute seule, ainsi on lui promit les cinquante Ecus. Le jour de mon depart etant arrivé mes Cousines vinrent me prendre pour aller trouver le Guide, qui avoit donné rendezvous dans le chemin d'Uses. Je pris congé de la Dame du Logis et de sa fille, en leur remerciant de toutes leurs bontez. Nous partimes sur le Midi comme si nous allions a la Promenade, nous allames à une mille de la Ville à une Metairié de Meran qui etoit pres du Chemin, d'ou nous pouvions voir passer notre guide. L'ayant apperçu j'embrassai mes Cousines, et je sortis toute seule de la Maison, pour que l'on soupçonna rien, et je fus trouver mon Guide. Quelle surprise pour moi de voir avec lui cette fille Roquette qui avoit etoit mené au Couvent en meme tems que moi, et qui l'avoit quittée comme j'ai dit. J'eus une grande joie de la voir, et fus toute satisfaite de lui procurer sa sortie de France. Comme l'on m'aidait a monter à Cheval, je vis sortir tout d'un coup d'un fossé deux Messieurs, qui vinrent m'embrasser, l'un etoit un Ami de mon Pere, l'autre un Parent de ma Mere. Il recommanderent fort au Guide d'avoir soin de moi. Il leur promit, et leur tient bien parole, car c'etoit un honnête homme, qui nous vouloit nous confier qu'a ses yeux. Il demandoit a toutes les Hotelleries une Chambre a deux lits pour etre aupres de nous. À Uses nous logeames chez un Protestant. Notre Guide etoit fort connu sur la route, faisant ce Voyage plusieurs fois l'annee, l'on avoit beaucoup d'egards pour lui. Il avoit plusieurs Mulets chargées de Marchandises, et des Valets pour les conduire, lui etoit monté a Cheval, moi sur un petit Bidet et la Roquette sur un Mulet. Quand nous approchions des endroits ou il y avoit des Gardes pour arreter les Personnes qui sortoient du Roiaume, il prenait la Roquette derriere lui et quittoit le grand Chemin, et par des Sentiers detournés nous rejoignons, quand le mauvais pas etoit passé, les Mulets chargés, qui suivoient toujours la grande Route. Au Pont St. Esprit il nous fit passer le Rhone en batteau a deux porteés de mousquet du Port. Arrivez à Montelimart au signe du Mouton, L'hote entra dans ma Chambre pour me demander permission qu'un Officier soupa avec nous. Je lui dis qu'il falloit la demander à Maitre André notre conducteur, l'ayant obtenue, je vis entrer cet Officier agé environ vingt cinq ans.

Apres les premiers Complimens il me dit qu'il etoit Protestant, et q'aiant apris l'arrivée de Maitre André avec deux jeunes Filles, la curiosité l'avoit porté a nous voir, et nous offrir de nous recommander à notre Guide. Il me donna des avis pour me bien conduire, et me fit promettre de lui ecrire a mon arrivée à Geneve, et lui faire sçavoir si notre Guide avoit bien agi à notre egard. Il me donna son adresse, et je lui ecrivis de Geneve, que nous avions tout lieu d'etre contentes des soins et des manieres de Maitre André. Arrivés dans un Village frontiere de la Savoie, il nous mit dans une Maison et nous dit de nous tenir bien cachées, que nous devions dans la Nuit passer dans les terres de Savoie. Nous fumes tout le jour en Priere pour demander à Dieu sa protection. Sur les dix heures de Soir je vis entrer notre Guide avec un autre Homme. Ils monterent à Cheval et nous prirent en croupe, nous marchames presque toute la Nuit, etant arrivées au bord d'une Riviere nous la guéames, étant de l'autre coté le Guide me dit, je vous felicite, vous voila en sureté dans la Savoie. Pour lors le Roi de Sardaigne donnoit passage aux fugitifs sur ces terres. Nous allames à Chamberry et de la à Geneve. Je descendis aupres des Trois Rois, il me laissa dans une boutique dont la Maitresse etoit d'Uses, pour aller mettre ses chevaux à l'Ecurie ; dans cette intervalle je demandai à la Marchande si je ne pouvois pas voir une Eglise ? Elle me mena à St. Gervais. Je me sentis une si grande joye, qu'il m'est impossible de l'exprimer de me voir dans la Maison du Seigneur. Le zele que j'avois alors me fait honte aujourdhui pour mon refroidisement. Maitre Andre vint me chercher et me mena chez ma Cousine Fayolles, et la Roquette alla chez son Frere. Je ne fus pas un Mois à Geneve que l'Intendant Basville fut averti de ma sortie de France. Il en fut si piqué qu'il s'en prit a tous ceux qu'il soupçonna y avoir part. Il envoya un Officier avec des Archers prendre mon Oncle et ma Tante. Il condamna le Mari a etre mis dans la Citadelle de Montpellier dans un Cachot, où il resta quatre Mois. Et ma Tante Exilée à Narbonne, où elle resta un an. Il envoya ce meme Cortege à Mon^r Bosquet à Nismes ; l'on le prit au saut de lit, moitie habillé et l'on ammena à Montpellier comme un homme que l'on alloit pendre. On le fit jurer s'il m'avoit vûe, ayant juré que non, et s'étant bien deffendu, il en fut quitte pour la peur, mais non pas de Bourse, on lui ordonna de donner à chacun des Gardes un Louis D'Or, ce quil fit, et se retourna tres content d'avoir echappé la Prison qu'il craignoit fort. Mon Oncle le Brigadier lui paya tous ses fraix. Vous pouvez juger mes chers Enfants par toutes ces violences que s'ils avoient pû me reprendre que j'aurois ete mise dans un endroit d'où je n'aurois

jamais pu m'echapper. Je dois ma delivrance à mon divin Sauveur qui comme le bon Berger ma portée sur ses Epaules. Dans le Païs de liberté je puis dire comme David ' Helas j'etois la Brebis egarée. de me chercher Seigneur tu pris plaisir, fais que ta loi dans mon Coeur soit gravée Amen.' Je partis de Geneve a la fin de Mai pour l'Angleterre avec bonne Compagnie, Messieurs et Dames, par la Voye d'Allemagne. En sortant de Geneve je m'embarquai sur le Lac, où je fus toute incommodée comme sur une Mer. Arrivée à Lausanne j'y restai huit jours pour attendre des Voitures pour nous mener à Basle. Depuis Lausanne jusques à Basle nous trouvames des mauvais gites, couchés sur de la Paille, en secouant les Oreillers on etoit habillées. Arrivez à Basle nous fumes loger aux trois Rois, bonne Auberge, où nous restames huit jours pour attendre qu'on nous prepara un bateau couvert de planches assez grandes pour douze Personnes que nous etions. Etant pret nous embarquames pour descendre le Rhin, deux bons Suisses des Cantons Allemands nous conduisoient. Le Matin on faisoit ses provisions pour tout le Jour, et le Soir nous debarquions pres de quelque Ville ou Village, pour y coucher et faire les Provisions pour le lendemain. Nous passames depuis Basle jusques à Vezel trois Semaines, et de la à Nimegue nous primes un Chariot jusques à Utrecht. Etant à Utrecht l'on nous embarqua sur le Canal où nous passames tout la Nuit. Le Matin nous arrivames à Amsterdam. Je fus chez le Frere d'une Demoiselle qui avoit fait le Voyage avec moi, et qui vouloit bien m'accompagner chez ma Cousine Regis.[1] En Chemin nous trouvames un Monsieur et une Dame qui saluerent cet Officier avec qui jetois. Etant à la Porte de ma Cousine nous trouvames la Servante qui me demanda si jetois la fille de Madame Molinier. Je lui dis que oui, ma Mere qui etoit dans l'entrée ayant entendu notre discours, courrut pour m'embrasser, et me dit ' Ma fille ! je suis votre Mere. Helas ! je vous ai vue de loin, et m'etant arretée pour vous regarder, j'ai dit au Monsieur qui etoit avec moi, cette jeune Damoiselle a bien l'air François.' Je fus bien surpris de trouver ma Mere en Hollande, la croyant en Angleterre. Elle y etoit venue pour voir un Frere[2] etabli à Amsterdam, qui mourrut

[1] Probably the Frances Regis, widow, of the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, who appointed her cousin, Mary de Santipolite, executrix to her will. proved in 1747 (P.C.C. 324, Potter), and left legacies to James and Charles and Gabrielle Molinier.

[2] The extracts from the baptismal Register at Nismes, supplied by the kindness of the late M. Charles Sagnier, do not cover this M. Baudoin, and he consequently does not appear in the accompanying pedigree.

d'une Consomption trois semaines avant mon Arrivée. Remarquez mes chers Enfans ce que cause la Persecution. Une Mere ne connoit pas son Enfant, ni l'Enfant sa Mere. Benissez Dieu de la Grace qu'il vous a fait de Naitre dans une Païs de Liberté, ou vous avez la bonne pature de l'Ame et la Consolation d'etre elevez sous l'ombre de votre Pere et Mere, sans crainte d'etre enlevés d'aupres eux par les Ennemis de votre Salut.

Nous partimes d'Amsterdam pour Roterdam avec deux jeunes Messieurs, qu'on avoit recommandés à ma Mere. Huit jours apres nous embarquames pour l'Angleterre sur un Pacquet Boat. Je n'eus pas plutot mis la pied au Vaisseau que je me trouvai malade. Je n'avois pas le pied Marin. N'ayant point vu la Mer ni de pres ni de loin le Docteur Regis m'avoit fortement recommandé que si jetois Malade de bien prendre pour bien rendre. Etant ma Mere et moi sur un lit tres incommodées, ma Mere s'eleve sur son seant, et se saisit d'une bouteille de Vin et me dit d'en boire, je n'avois de ma Vie bû du Vin pur, mais jetois si malade que sans facon je bus de la Bouteille. Avec cette dose je passais la Mer endormie. Arrives à Gravesend nous primes un Bateau, l'on nous aborda pres de la Douane, ayant mis pieds à terre, les Commis de Péage nous emporterent tous nos Coffres, les ayant ouverts, dans une minute tout fut prit, les Montres de ces Messieurs et tout le linge. Nous etions tous quatre sans langue à lamenter, lorsque ma Mere s'avisa d'aller tout droit à la Douane, pour tacher de trouver quelq'un qui parloit François. Deux Messrs descendant de cette Maison, ma Mere leur demanda s'ils parloient François. Ils dirent q'oui. Leur ayant raconté son Histoire, ils commandèrent que tout fut rapporté qu'on avoit pris, le tout fut rendu et remis dans les Coffres devant ses yeux. Nous primes Carosse avec notre bagage, et sur les trois heures nous arrivames chez nous, où je trouvai deux freres sans les connoitre.

Je me flatte, mes chers Enfans, que cette relation ne vous sera pas indifferente, mon dessein en l'ecrivant a eté de vous apprendre les Graces que Dieu ma fait de m'avoir tirée de Babylone comme un tison recouvré du feu. Que mon ame le benisse toute ma Vie pour tous ses bienfaits ! et vous en fasse à vous memes recueillir les Fruits que sa Providence s'etoit proposée de vous y faire trouver en me l'accordant. Amen.

The Labouchere Pedigree.

THE pedigree of the Barriers de la Bouchère—who were of the Noblesse de la Robe—is given in the 'Armorial Général ou Registre de la Noblesse de France,' Volume xi., Registre Huitième. The family appears to have embraced the Reformed Religion at an early date, since we are told of an Antoine Barrier, who followed Guy de Bes, the founder of the first Reformed Church in Middelburg, to Holland in 1579, his posterity however dying out in the third generation. It is supposed—but this supposition stops short of proof—that Jean Guyon Barrier, a *Notaire Royale* of Val de Chastel, son of a Robert, and father of an Antoine, who appears as then deceased in a deed bearing date May 26, 1633, was the direct progenitor of the François with whom our present pedigree begins.

The English, French, and Dutch branches of the family—which are given on three separate sheets—derive, as will be seen, from the second, third, and fourth sons of Mathieu Labouchère (1721–1796) and Marie Madelaine Molière. They show a commingling of Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, Norwegian, and Swiss blood.

1. The coming marriage of Jean Louis Yver and Susanne was proclaimed at the Hague June 4, 1752. There appears to have been a previous engagement on his part—which was broken off—to the younger sister, Marie, since their intended marriage had been similarly proclaimed on the preceding 4th of January.

2. Antoine Marie Molière (born Feb. 28, 1709) and Marie Elizabeth Veron (born Aug. 12, 1705), the parents of Madame Mathieu de la Bouchère were married June 6, 1734, and their golden wedding was memorialised in 1784 by a gold medal.

3. Pierre Antoine received his education in Germany and in England, with a view to a commercial career. In 1827, he went—as Secretary to Mr. Bates, the then head of the House of Baring—to the United States; and in 1832, on his brother's behalf, to China. But in 1836 he definitely forsook commerce for art, and became a pupil of

his friend and master, Paul Delaroche. His favourite subjects were scenes in the history of the Reformation. His illustrations of the 'Life of Martin Luther' were engraved in line, and appeared with letterpress descriptions by J. H. Merle d'Aubigné, the historian.

4. The Vulliamys, though of purely Swiss origin, became connected with the refugee families of Chevallier, Labouchere, and Rigaud. Edward and Justin Vulliamy were the sons (by an English wife, Elizabeth Ball, of Pitsford) of Justin Théodore Vulliamy (1797–1870), who settled as a woollen manufacturer at Nonancourt, in France; this latter being grandson of François Justin Vulliamy (1713–1797), a noted clockmaker in Pall Mall, who hailed from the Canton de Vaud, and in 1735 became the founder, as also president of the Consistoire, of the Swiss Chapel in Moore Street, Seven Dials. Marie, one of the four sisters of Edward and Justin Vulliamy, became the wife of George Meredith.

5. Yet another link between Labouchere and Baring was forged by the marriage in 1837 of Lady Taunton's sister, Emily Baring, to Mrs. J. P. Labouchere's brother, the Rev. William Maxwell Du Prè, Vicar of Wooburn, Bucks. His sister, Caroline Du Prè, became the wife of the Rev. Spencer Thornton, who was a grandson of Godfrey Thornton by Jane, his wife, a daughter of an influential director of the French Hospital, Stephen Peter Godin, whose Family Note Book was published this year in the January number of the 'Genealogist.'

6. Its cleverness—as the founder of *Truth* would be the first to acknowledge—redeems the French pun: 'La bou(e) chere à six sous,' in answer to the question: 'Quelle est la Vérité ?'—the paper which in Mr. Labouchere's words was to be—and indeed in one important and most useful respect was—'another and a better *World*.'

Notices of Books.

I. THE REFORMED CHURCH OF PARIS UNDER HENRY IV.

L'Église Réformée de Paris sous Henri IV. By JACQUES PANNIER, Pasteur, Docteur ès lettres. Champion, Éditeur, Paris. 1911.

THIS is a welcome addition to Huguenot literature, affording such a mass of information on the period of which it treats as to constitute an encyclopædia of valuable details connected with the first struggles of the Calvinists for the establishment of places of worship, and of assemblies to organise them.

A remarkable feature of French Protestantism is its continued vitality through two centuries of fiery persecution, and these more tragic and exciting episodes have naturally occupied the historian's attention far more than its unobtrusive endeavours to found churches as the visible sign of that vitality.

Notwithstanding their martyrdoms by the most horrible, lingering tortures under Francis I and Henry II, their first pastor was appointed in 1555, four years before the death of the latter Sovereign and the same year as the Diet of Augsburg. In 1559 the first national Synod formulating their profession of faith and discipline was held in Paris, which soon became the head-quarters of the Huguenot churches throughout France.

Starting from this period our author carries his history to the year 1610, when the dagger of Ravaillac ended the glorious but troubled reign of the fourth Henry, and treats with, perhaps, too great minuteness every point that can possibly throw light on his subject, for which he enlists the full sympathy of his readers.

His sketch of the transition period of the Church's history from 1593 to 1599 when the Edict of Nantes was issued, contains a good account of the many difficulties it encountered ; of the marriage of the King's sister, Catherine, to the Duc de Bar, the

opposition to it and its effect on the Huguenot cause by the loss of her influence and protection at Court as well as her example to the nation; and traces out the seven years of struggle to obtain the alleviations granted by the Edict.

Much has been made of these privileges; but even when every allowance is made for the spirit of that time, both in Church and State, they were as meagre as possible, and, far from granting religious liberty, barely conceded a most restricted tolerance. M. Pannier gives very modern instances of this continued bigotry: as late as 1829 at Patay permission was granted for a Protestant Church 'on condition that there should be shutters to the windows and a chimney on the roof so as to render the Temple undistinguishable from the surrounding habitations'; and even in 1865, the Empress Eugénie insisted that a Protestant 'Temple' should only be erected in a side-street of Paris with as little outward sign as possible of what it really was.

Genealogically and historically interesting are also the notices of the first pastors and their preaching; of the 'anciens' who formed the consistory; of Casaubon who arrived in Paris in 1610.

Touching also are the descriptions of the family piety and household prayers amongst all classes from the workmen to the nobility, such as the Duc de La Force, Madame de Rohan, the Duchesse de Deux-Ponts, and others. In the registers, too, are found such names as the widow of William of Orange, Catherine de Bourbon (sister of Henry IV), of the King himself by proxy, besides those of many members of the great historic families of France.

The placid example of such Calvinists produced marked effect, without any attempt at proselytising, and large numbers of good Catholics read the Bible and favoured many points of agreement with the Reformed tenets without going so far as to join them openly.

Indeed, a collection of prayers, published in 1601, with the approval of two Doctors of the Sorbonne, commences with 'Une prière protestante pour tous temps'—namely, the Confession of Sins, from the Reformed Liturgy by Bucer, Calvin, and Beza.

This temporary and limited unity was due to the Edict, feeble though it was ; and M. Pannier aptly compares it to 'a cradle in which a parent endeavours to rear twins, and, if later, that parent dies, and one twin suffocates the other, neither parent nor cradle are to be blamed.'

But the Catholic twin who eventually was to stifle the other, still continued his vexations even in 1606 : for example, Calvinists buried in Catholic cemeteries were exhumed at the request of the Bishop of Paris and buried in unconsecrated ground ; this continued to be the law of the land, and was never formally repealed till 1884. In fact, the whole power of the Church was exerted to render the Edict valueless ; all ceremonials were forbidden, and not more than ten persons allowed to attend a burial ; this had to be by night, and the sites granted for interments adjoined those where town refuse, offal and everything insanitary was heaped, or near lepers' reserved allotments.

A curious circumstance occurred at Venice in 1606—the very year in which Henry IV was permitting the erection of a 'Temple' near Paris. The Venetian Republic positively forbade the erection of churches by Catholics without previous permission from the State, for which Paul V promptly excommunicated them.

The story of the rise of the first 'Temples' at Ablon and Charenton is given very fully, as are also the appeals and other obstructive measures taken against their construction. The one at Charenton was a spacious building holding between 3,000 and 4,000 people, but was unfortunately burnt down in 1621 ; a new one was, however, quickly raised in its place.

One of the most widely known Ministers of the Charenton Church was Jean Daillé or Dallæus, respected as much by Catholic controversialists as by those of his own communion —such as his friends Gomar, Cappel, Amirault, and de L'Angle.

A prolific and learned writer his best-known work is his 'Treatise on the right use of the Fathers in the decision of Controversies' (published 1632). A second edition of the English translation, by the Rev. G. Jekyll, was published by Bohn in 1843, and is to this day considered a valuable historic

manual on the subject, as are also his 'De Sacramentali . . . confessione,' 'De Confirmatione . . . ,' and works on false attributions of writings by the Apostles and Fathers.

Born in 1594 he was minister at Charenton from 1626 to 1670 when he died.

Interesting to the English reader are the references to our Ambassador attending the Huguenot services at Ablon (prior to the Charenton church being built), and where he stood sponsor at a baptism. Later, on the arrival of some exiled Presbyterians in Paris, Church of England services were held in the British Embassy, where a Calvinist pastor often preached; for though James I was an ardent Churchman he was on excellent terms with the Huguenots.

During this time of comparative outward peace, several attempts were made for a fusion of the rival Churches; public discussions on the chief differences were held and works written thereon, and foremost was the greater preacher, Du Moulin. There also were to be seen Jansenius, Du Vergier de Hauranne of Port Royal fame, and conversions were made by both parties, though—as might have been expected—no practical results were obtained. Those who then abjured were doubtless actuated by conscientious motives—for there was not much to be then gained by so doing—whereas, later, Catholics were frequently prompted by prospects of personal advantage, such as a wealthy alliance; and lukewarm Huguenots by a hope of advancement through the increasing power of the followers of Loyola, and the pensions or bribes offered by the Catholic clergy.

Our author gives a lamentable account of the difficulties experienced in establishing the most elementary schools, and far greater for colleges of any sort of superior education, as the Sorbonne would never waive any of its ancient privileges over such matters, even refusing the Jesuit College in Paris permission to teach anything but theology. This difficulty was never got over till the Revolution, when all religious education was abolished.

The labour and research involved in writing this book of 667 pages must have been indeed arduous and may well have

taken the twenty years claimed for it by M. Pannier, for there seems hardly a detail overlooked in any of the numerous subjects dealt with, while the footnotes (which rather overweight this work), bibliography, and *pièces justificatives* would alone make a fair-sized book.

At first sight some of these minutiæ appear somewhat irrelevant, but a closer perusal will prove the value of this collateral knowledge to the student of historic bypaths; and future writers on this portion of Huguenot history will do well to consult M. Pannier's volume, in which the general reader will also find much of interest.

There is a copious index of names, another of places, and a full résumé of the contents of each chapter—a partial compensation for the absence of a subject-index which would, however, have been more valuable.

II.—THE REFORMED CHURCH OF FRANKENTHAL.

Registres de l'Église Réformée Néerlandaise de Frankenthal au Palatinate, 1565–1689. Publiés par A. von den Velden. Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme Belge, 1911.

THE 'Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme Belge' (affiliated to our Society) has just issued the first volume of the 'Registres de l'Église Réformée Néerlandaise de Frankenthal,' in the Palatinate, containing the baptisms from 1565 to 1689, and due to the industry of M. Adolf von den Velden.

In his preface we find a condensed sketch of the migration of the adherents of Luther and Calvin from the persecutions in the Netherlands at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, when they went principally to Aix-la-Chapelle, Wesel, Cologne, and Bâle in considerable numbers. They were chiefly Flemish and Walloon Calvinists (Welsche), and wherever they went gave great impulse to commerce, manufactures, and the arts. Yet this very activity seemed to raise discontent in some of their new homes, compelling them to go farther, even to the sea-ports of North Germany, while the Thirty Years' War scattered their settlements still more.

The one at Frankenthal was originally at Frankfort-on-the-

Main, whence they were driven owing to the severe ordinances of the Lutheran clergy against the Calvinists; but the Elector Palatine, Frederick III, a pious ruler, granted them the Convent of Frankenthal, given up by the Roman Catholics in 1562, and there they continued till 1689, when the French army devastated the entire Palatinate under Marshal Duras with brutal, needless ravages which caused indignant Europe to combine afresh against Louis XIV. The Frankenthal settlement was naturally one of the first to be scattered by the sword of that 'Most Catholic King.' The stately ruins of the castle at Heidelberg still stand as a sad memorial of the ruthless cruelty of the 'Roi Soleil.'

M. von den Velden had already published in 1908 his similar work on the French Calvinist Refugees in Heidelberg and Frankenthal in German, and we are indebted for the French translation of that part to the indefatigable Treasurer of the Belgian Society, Pasteur Jean Meyhoffer, the author of a 'Biography of Laren de Comines,' and a 'Martyrology of the Netherlands,' &c.

Miscellanea.

THE HUGUENOT CEMETERY (MOUNT NOD), WANDSWORTH.

THE Fellows may remember that in November 1910 the then President, Sir William Portal, brought to their notice a movement that had been promoted by the residents of Wandsworth to erect in the Huguenot burial ground—locally known as Mount Nod—a suitable memorial to the many Huguenots buried therein.

The subscriptions of the Fellows, added to those of local residents, amounting to about 85*l.*, enabled the Memorial Committee to obtain a design from Mr. H. Trimnell, A.R.I.B.A., which was subsequently approved by the Wandsworth Borough Council, and carried out by Messrs. Farmer & Brindley of Westminster Bridge Road. The memorial is in Portland stone and of classical design, and bears the following inscription :—

'Here rest many Huguenots who on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 left their native land for conscience' sake and found in Wandsworth freedom to worship God after their own manner. They established important industries and added to the credit and prosperity of the town of their adoption.'

The pediment is enriched with carving, representing the French and English shields, in front of which is resting an open Bible, the design being adapted from that on the Certificate of Fellowship of the Huguenot Society. On the plinth are inscribed the following names of Huguenots buried either in Mount Nod itself or in the older graveyard surrounding the parish church.

BARBEAU	CHAMBERLEN	DAMAREE
BOUDOIN	CHATTING	DARVALL
BERNARD	COMARQUE	DE LA PORTE
BORDES	CRAUANT	DE LA ROQUE

DEMFRENE	GROLLEAU	PAUMIER
DORMAY	GROSE	PAYAN
DU MOULIN	HEBERT	ROLLAND
FENOUILHET	LAFITTE	TORIN
FONTANIEU DE LA VABRE	MAHIEU	VIET
FOURDRINIER	MOREAU	VIGNON

The unveiling ceremony took place on Saturday, October 21, 1911 (the following day being the 226th anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes), and was performed by the President of the Huguenot Society, Mr. Reginald St. A. Roumieu, in the presence of the Mayor and Mayoress of Wandsworth and a large gathering of local residents, as well as many Fellows of the Society. A reproduction of a pen-and-ink sketch of the memorial and a full account of the opening ceremony appeared in the *Wandsworth Borough News* of Friday, October 27, 1911. It may be worth while reminding Fellows that an interesting history of the Huguenots at Wandsworth and their burial ground at Mount Nod was the subject of a paper by the late Mr. John Traviss Squire, read before this Society on May 12, 1886, and printed in the first volume of *Proceedings*.

(*Communicated by A. Hervé Browning.*)

THE ABBÉ DE FLORIAN.

The Rev. Paul de Claris de Florian, who had died at his rectory of Stradishall, Suffolk, August 7, 1737, had his will proved (P.C.C. 223, Wake) on October 22 following by Baron David de St. Hippolyte. He gives thanks that he was 'born in the Christian Protestant Reformed Church, the ark of God, the door to Heaven.' . . . His brother John was detained in France by his numerous family. He had but one child of his own, Mary Margaret. To her Godmother, the Baroness de St. Hippolyte, he leaves his 'Plutarch's Lives.' Many other books are specified, and their bindings lovingly recorded. His friend and companion in studies had been Anthony Vezian. His benefactor was the Right Honourable and most religious Mr. James Vernon, lord of the parish, &c., &c. This can be none

other than the *ci-devant* Abbé de Florian, recorded in 'La France Protestante' as 'Pierre,' who in 1716 returned to the Protestantism which his family, at least outwardly, had abandoned. The Abbé's brother, Jean, had, it is known, a family of sixteen children (of whom five daughters were consigned to convents). The *fabuliste* Jean Pierre Florian (1755–1794) was one of his grandchildren. In 1716 Paul had published 'Lettres de M. de Claris, ci-devant prieur de l'église de Saint Jean de Criolon, dans le diocèse de Nismes, à Mgr. de Nismes son évêque et aux fidèles de l'église de Criolon sur son changement de religion,' and the same year he retired to London, and became a Minister at La Patente, marrying in 1717, Marie Coyer, or (as the will-copy perhaps more correctly gives it) Conyer. It is interesting to discover this controversialist, who might perhaps, had he lived in our day, have joined the ranks of the Alt-Katholiks, in harbour in a Suffolk Rectory.

H. W.

THE DE VILLETTES FAMILY AND THAT OF SELLON.

John Arthur de Villettes (1701–1776), elected a Director of the French Hospital in 1753, being the 'Artus' of that year, and son of Jean de Montledier, who had become a Director in 1751, was somewhile British Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Turin, and later accredited to the Swiss Republic at Berne, where one may imagine him in friendly personal relations with the Minister for Würtemberg, Alexandre de Montolieu, referred to p. 160, seeing that not only had both families hailed from Languedoc, but that he must also have been on terms of acquaintance, maybe of intimacy, with the English Montolieus, his wife being a niece of Mrs. James Molinier, a daughter (a bold venture this, he being apparently his father-in-law's senior by two years!) of Guillaume Henri Sellon of Geneva, and of her sister, Charlotte Fayolle. He was the father of two gallant sons, who respectively became Directors in 1777 and 1779, Lieut.-General Henry Clinton de Villettes, and

Lieut.-General William Anne Jasper de Villettes (1754–1808), to whom was accorded the honour of a monument (by Westmacott) in Westminster Abbey.

G. H. Sellon was the second of the three sons of Jean Sellon, a refugee from Nismes. Though he was a Lyons merchant, never resident in England, his 'close and secret' will, made in 1760, was proved in the P.C.C. (286, Simpson), in 1764. Referring to his wife, Charlotte Fayolle, he testifies to their 'happy days, our lenity, her attachment for me and her excellent qualifications.' His elder brother, Gaspard, though naturalised by Act of Parliament in 1721 (No. 4, 8 George I), did not remain here, but appears thirty years later as the Sieur d'Allaman, having acquired the estate and château of that name in the Pays de Vaud.

His younger brother, Jean François (1707–1790), was Minister for the republic of Geneva at the Court of France from 1749 to 1764. His son, Jean, born at Paris in 1736, was created in 1786, by Josef II, a Count of the Holy Roman Empire. By the marriage of the second of his three daughters, of whom the eldest became Duchesse de Clermont-Tonnerre, namely Adelaide Susanne, with Michel Antoine Benso, Marquis de Cavour, he became the grandfather of Count Camille Cavour, the Italian statesman. These brothers had a sister, Jeanne Elizabeth, who in 1726 became the wife of Sir Charles Tyrrell of Thornton Hall, Bucks, eighth and last baronet.

H. W.

FOREIGN PROTESTANTS FOR CAROLINA IN 1679.

The two papers following are among the records of the Admiralty now preserved at the Public Record Office.

	hoes. Men.	fem. Woom.	enf. Child.
Mr. de Rousserie	1		
Mr. his friend	1		
Mr. alsoe his friend	1		
Mr. Crozar	2	2	

	hoes. Men.	fem. Woom.	enf. Child.
Mr. his friend	1		
Mr. Olivier	1		
Mr. Forestier	2		
Mr. Serré	1	1	2
Mr. Rousseau	1	1	6
Mr. Thibou	2	1	4
Mr. le Riche	1	2	
Mr. Varin	1	1	1
Mr. Fourré	1	1	6
Mr. Prevost	2	1	
Mr. Baston	1	1	1
Mr. Garder	1	1	
Mr. Guerard Junior	1		
Mr. Guerard one of ye undertakers	7	3	4

rec^d^ & read ye 15 Oct. 79 [1679].

Endorsed :—

Names of 18 Fr: Protestants
going to Carolina in the Richmond.

Adm. Navy Board, Miscellanea, 3537.
(*Miscellaneous Papers*, 1650–1680.)

A List of ye Forraign Protestant Famillies which are willing to be transported for Carolina.

WEE whose names are underwritten doe hereby ingage & promise every one for himselfe to embarke our Selves & famillies on board of the Richemont or other his Maties Frigot as soone as wee become acquainted with her being ready to receive us, to be transported for Athley River or other part of Carolina lying more Southerly than the 34 Degrees of North lattitude, for to settle there ye manufactures of Silke, oyle, Wines &c, which many of us are skilled and practised in: Beeing all of us Forraign Protestant come from beyond ye Seas or having made our stopp in England upon ye account of this Voyage: during which we are to be maintained by Mr. René Petit & Mr. Jacob Guerard, Soe as his Ma^ty^ shall be att noe farther Charges than to maintaine the Shipps Company and Such as shall be under his Maties pay.

Number of Famillies.	Number of persons.
Noé Serres of Brie with his famillie composed of 6 persons	6
P. Roulleau (?) of Orleans with his Famillie . . .	8
Louis Thibou of Orleans with his Famillie . . .	8
P. Guerard of Normandy with his Famillie . . .	2
Samuel Conire (?) of Xaintonge with his Famillie . .	2
S. Siocart of Bordeaux with his Famillie	5
De Rousieryé of Languedoc with his Famillie . . .	3
. . . Jesue Dedayounnare of Normandy with her Famillie .	4
Demas Depomar of Normandy with his Famillye . .	3
[A¹] la marque de Jean Le Riche of ye Palatinat . .	5
Expietienne Cazin of Paris with his famillie . . .	2
Jacque Varien &c of Rouen of Normandy with his famillie .	2
Triquiau of Allen^on	3
Frere Foure of Paris with his Famillie	8
Piere Cofe (?) of Geneva	2
A. Prevost of Dieppe	3
Olivier of Dauphiné	3
Isaac Caton of picardy	3
Samuel Jermain of Diepe	2
Jean Garder of picardy	2
Forestier minster w^th	6
Martin with his famillie of	5
In all 20 Famillies besides one of ye Undertakers composed of .	14
	[*sic*] 90

On the other side :—

> We under written doe humbly Certifye that most of the Subscribers In the list mentioned on the other Syde being all forrain protestants have come to Us, And Promised Us, that they will be Ready to performe punctually the Conditions there In mentionned on their parte to be performed. Dated london the 8th of novemb^r 1679.
>
> Peter Bar
> Francis Tyssen.

Adm. Class 1, *No.* 5139 (*Orders in Council*, 1679–1688).

(*Communicated by Miss E. H. Fairbrother.*)

THE QUEEN OF HOLLAND AND COLIGNY.

QUEEN WILHELMINA on her recent visit to Paris did not forget her association with the Admiral and the House of Orange, by laying a wreath on the monument in the Rue de Rivoli to that famous hero of France. (See the *Times* of June 3, 1912.) It will be remembered that the Huguenot Society of London assisted the English Committee to carry out the completion of the statue, and meetings in London and Canterbury were held for that object in 1884. Odet de Coligny, brother of the Admiral, is interred in the Cathedral of that city, and his monument was visited by our members during their Conference at Canterbury.

The Queen also received in Paris a deputation from Orange, an old principality which for years was held by the founders of the Orange Nassau line, until confiscated by Louis XIV.

That town is proud of its history, and in welcoming the deputation, Queen Wilhelmina recognised her connexion with her ancestor William the Silent, who had married a daughter of Coligny.

It can also be stated that the idea of the monument was first entertained by the French Protestant Historical Society, and that the late Pasteur Bersier, who gave an eloquent address at the unveiling, is the author of a life of the renowned Admiral.

S. W. K.

CELEBRATION OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY IN ENGLAND.

IN 'Cambridge under Queen Anne,' . . . edited by J. E. B. Mayor, M.A. (1911), and in the Diary of Z. C. von Uffenbach, under date Sept. 4 [1710] we read : 'In the morning we stayed at home, as it is a festival, St Bart., which is kept throughout all *England*, in memory of the massacre at *Paris*.'

This brief extract serves to show the lasting interest aroused by the sufferings of the Huguenots, and is an index to the good treatment they received in this country. It would be interesting to know when this general interest began to die out ; no one now keeps St. Bartholomew's Day, so far as we know, in memory of the Massacre. W. C. W.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

Vol. X. No. 2

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1912–13

HELD AT

THE HÔTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1912.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Annual Meeting, held on May 8, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Frank Warner, Esq., Bellegrove, South Woodford, Essex.
Orlando Henry Wagner, Esq., 90 Queen's Gate, S.W.
John Herbert Saffery, Esq., 118 Oakwood Court, Kensington, W.
Miss Emily Selina Lush, 18 Redcliffe Square, S.W.
The Rev. Jean R. Barnabas, Canterbury.

As Fellows :

Stadtbibliothek, Frankfurt-am-Main.
Bishopsgate Institute, 230 Bishopsgate, E.C.

A Paper was read on 'The French Hierarchy and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes,' by Mr. Charles Poyntz Stewart, F.S.A.Scot.

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1912–13

HELD AT

THE HÔTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1913.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on November 13, 1912, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society:

Thomas Robinson Grey, Esq., Woodside, Twyford, Berks.
F. C. Bouvier, Esq., Superintendent's Office, Quebec Oriental Railway, New Carlisle, P.Q., Canada.
Miss Clare Piffard, Hazeldene, Brockenhurst.
The Ven. Archdeacon Thomas Henry Archer Houblon, D.D., Christ Church, Oxford.
Sir W. Everard B. ffolkes, Bart., Congham Hall, Norfolk.

As Fellows:

Glasgow University Library.
The Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

Papers were read on 'The family of Riou' by the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, F.S.A., and on 'A Huguenot Settlement in Essex' by Mr. W. C. Waller, F.S.A.

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1912-13

HELD AT

THE HÔTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 12, 1913.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on January 8 were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society:

Edward Cazalet, Esq., Fairlawne, near Tonbridge.
Mrs. Leda Mary Roumieu Crosse, Foxburrow, Caterham Valley, Surrey.
Jean Louis Rieu, Esq., Byculla Club, Bombay.
Colonel Hubert John Du Cane, M.V.O., 94 Piccadilly, W.
William Joseph L'Amie, Esq., 42 Priory Avenue, Hornsey, N.
Captain George Wheler, 21st Lancers, Otterden Place, Faversham, Kent.

A Paper on 'Memories of Spitalfields' was read by Mr. W. H. Manchée.

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

HELD AT

THE HÔTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 1913.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on March 12 were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society:

Captain George Sydney Cary, Royal Irish Rifles, Nairobi, British East Africa.

Captain Duncan Vernon Pirie, D.L., M.P., F.R.G.S.Scotland, 26 Ebury Street, S.W., and Caskieben, Kinaldie, Aberdeenshire.

Charles Henry Kitchin Chamen, Esq., The Mint, Saifabad, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.

J. M. D'Olier, Esq., Herbert House, Booterstown, Ireland.

W. H. Vignoles, Esq., *Daily Mail* (Continental Edition), 2 and 4 Tudor Street, E.C.

As a Fellow:

University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.

The Annual Report of the Council was read as follows:

Report of the Council to the Twenty-ninth Annual General Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London.

The Council has to report that during the past year the Society has lost thirteen Fellows by death and five by resignation, making a total loss of eighteen. The number of Fellows and subscribing libraries elected has been twenty-six, so that there is a net increase of eight.

The Treasurer's accompanying balance-sheet shows an income for the year 1912 of 548*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* and an expenditure of 379*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* There is also a sum of 1214*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* invested in 2½ per cent. Consols, representing the fees of those Fellows who have compounded for their subscriptions, and a sum of 100*l.* on special deposit (Browning Fund).

The Council has to express its thanks to the Honorary Officers of the Society, Colonel D. G. Pitcher, the Secretary, and Mr. A. Hervé Browning, the Treasurer, for the services they have again so willingly rendered. It would also include in this expression of thanks the Honorary Auditors, Messrs. Rousselet and Le Bailly.

Volume XX of the Publications of the Society, containing the registers of the French churches of Bristol, Plymouth, and Stonehouse, edited by Mr. C. E. Lart, and the register of the French church of Thorpe-le-Soken, edited by Mr. W. C. Waller, has been issued during the past year. The first number of the tenth volume of *Proceedings* has also been issued. The Society is indebted to its Fellow, Mr. Henry Wagner, for the gift of the two beautiful photogravure plates illustrating this number.

Arrangements have been made for the printing of the concluding volume of the Threadneedle Street French church registers which Mr. T. C. Colyer-Fergusson is editing for the Society and it is hoped that it will be ready for issue to Fellows during the coming session. Another number of the *Proceedings,* being the second of the tenth volume, will also be issued during the year. Dr. Shaw is preparing the volume of *Denizations and Naturalizations,* 1701 to 1800, for the press. and the printing of it will be commenced immediately upon the completion of Mr. Colyer-Fergusson's volume.

Abstract of Treasurer's Account with the Huguenot Society of London.

From January 1 *to December* 31, 1912.

1912. Dr.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bankers on December 31, 1911	144	1	4
„ Subscriptions from 292 Fellows	306	12	0
„ „ „ 6 Fellows (in advance)	6	6	0
„ „ „ 2 Fellows (in arrear)	2	2	0
„ Entrance Fees from 13 Fellows	13	13	0
„ Composition Fees from 2 Fellows	21	0	0
„ Sale of Society's Publications to Fellows	24	10	4
„ Interest on Deposit Account (Browning Fund)	2	5	7
„ One Year's Interest on the Invested Composition Fees, less income-tax	27	17	2
	£548	7	5

1912. Cr.	£	s.	d.
By cost of Printing and issuing Publications, *Proceedings*, Notices, &c.	213	1	4
„ Insurance of Manuscripts, &c.	2	8	6
„ Assistant Secretary's Salary	50	0	0
„ Subscription to Congress of Archæological Societies	1	0	0
„ Stationery	6	6	9
„ Petty Cash Payments and Postages	8	7	5
„ Tea and Coffee after Meetings and Waiters' Gratuities	10	0	0
„ Hire of Rooms at Hôtel Windsor	3	3	0
„ Honorarium to Custodian of Papers at French Hospital	5	5	0
„ Purchase of Consols	31	10	0
„ Bank Charges		2	9
„ Transcribing Threadneedle Street, Stonehouse, and Plymouth Registers	24	5	0
„ Indexing Vol. 9 *Proceedings*	15	0	0
„ Illustrating Pt. 3 Vol. 9 *Proceedings*, &c.	8	12	6
„ Balance at Bankers	169	5	2
	£548	7	5

Examined with the Vouchers in the possession of the Society and found correct,

CHARLES F. ROUSSELET.
L. H. LE BAILLY.

April 23, 1913.

Note.—The Society stands possessed of a sum of 1214*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* 2½ per cent. Consols representing the investment of the fees of those Fellows who have elected to compound; also 100*l.* special deposit (Browning Fund).

A. HERVÉ BROWNING, *Treasurer.*

The ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result:

Officers and Council for the year May 1913 *to May* 1914.

President—Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu.

Vice-Presidents—The Right Hon. the Earl of Radnor; Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I.; William Minet, F.S.A.; the Rev. George William Walter Minns, F.S.A.; Sir William Wyndham Portal, Bart., F.S.A.; Charles Poyntz Stewart, F.S.A.Scot.

Treasurer—Arthur Hervé Browning.

Honorary Secretary—Colonel Duncan George Pitcher.

Members of Council—Sir William Job Collins, M.D., M.S., F.R.C.S.; Robert William Dibdin; Colonel Edward Frankland Gosset; William John Hardy, F.S.A.; Thomas Philip Le Fanu, C.B.; Edward Heathcote Lefroy; Robert Alfred McCall, K.C.; Samuel Romilly Roget, A.M.Inst.C.E., A.M.I.E.E.; William Chapman Waller, F.S.A.; Allan Ogier Ward, M.D., M.R.C.S.; Maurice Wilkinson, F.R.Hist.S.; Wyatt Wyatt-Paine.

The President then read his Address as follows:

ADDRESS

TO THE

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

By REGINALD St. A. ROUMIEU, President.

Waste no tears
Upon the blotted record of lost years,
But turn the leaf, and smile, oh, smile to see
The fair white pages that remain to thee.

These lines occur to me with a peculiar appropriateness in considering the affairs of our Society. Regrets there may be on the score of the 'lost years'—that the Society was not inaugurated at an earlier date to set about its task of collecting and publishing information as to our ancestors, their histories and genealogies. But the determination must be strong in us to enlist all those of Huguenot descent to interest themselves in our aims, that thereby we may obtain access to their manuscript materials and learn their family traditions, and to ensure that the students of Huguenot history may similarly give us the best of their literary aid and editorial labours in 'the fair white pages that remain' to us.

The number of the world's libraries that subscribe for our publications continues steadily to increase, and with this great accession of strength to our fellowship I cannot believe—even in these days of unrest and bustle—that there is any diminution of interest in the subject which we, Fellows of this Society, have so much at heart.

That history repeats itself is a truism, and as evidence of this I cannot do better than quote from a sermon preached

by Pastor Bourdillon in 1782, wherein he deplores the falling away of those of his time from the stricter ordinances and professions of the first refugees. He says:

'There was a lack of zeal and faithfulness in the heads of families in encouraging their children to maintain their churches which their ancestors had reared, a glorious monument of the generous sacrifice which they had made of their country, their possessions and their employments in the sacred cause of Conscience, or of the open profession of the Truth; whereas now, through the growing aversion of the young for the language of their fathers, from whom they seem almost ashamed to be descended—shall I say more?—because of the inconstancy in the principles of Faith, which induces so many by a sort of infatuation to forsake the ancient assemblies in order to follow novelties unknown to our fathers and listen to pretended teachers whose only gifts are rapture and bauble and whose sole inspiration consists in self-sufficiency and pride, alas, what ravages have been made here as elsewhere during this Jubilee of fifty years.'

In one respect, at least, I find a negative to the assertion of the dear old and enthusiastic pastor. To-day it is a difficulty to persuade some that they have no Huguenot blood in their veins or, to go further, that they cannot even claim Albigensian origin, so great is the honour that such a descent is now felt to confer. But for those who can rightly claim it, it must not suffice that they be content to rest on their laurels, and it is for awakening the spirit of honourable pride and emulation in their breasts that our Society has been founded and exists, and its work yet remains to be perfected.

I have spoken of Libraries and should like here to allude to what we all must and will accept as a great honour—the accession namely to our ranks during the past year of the Royal Library of Windsor Castle. In 1899 the Royal Library of Berlin joined the Society, and it is a matter of considerable pleasure to know that we now have its sister library in this kingdom honouring us by its fellowship.

The accession of so many libraries, belonging I think I may say to almost every part of the world, is obviously a very material advantage to us. But our editors must feel it as a special compliment to themselves to know that the value of

their literary labours obtains such recognition. It would be difficult to overestimate the advantage it must be to our American brethren, who probably, and from my own personal knowledge actually do, take a keener and more enthusiastic interest in our publications than even we do ourselves. I think, however, that we have no library and but few Fellows at the Cape, and it is my earnest wish that ere long this defect may be rectified. For in the early days of my Treasurership I can remember some eight or ten names of Fellows hailing from South Africa—Joubert, for instance, Du Toit, Du Plessis, Celliers and others.

The Society has by its Council and its executive officers been carried on successfully and well since 1885, but I voice the feelings of that body and those officers when I say how willing they would be to give consideration to any suggestion for improvement either on its literary or social side from any of the Fellows, so that its usefulness may be still further promoted:

> 'My life is a brief, brief thing,
> I am here for a little space;
> But while I stay I would like if I may
> To brighten and better the place.'

Yes, let us better the place by the lessons to be learned from our past history and thereby formulate axioms for the conduct of those who shall come after.

The last year so far as our Society is concerned has not brought forth any event of sufficient importance to be commented upon here, but I submit without fear of contradiction that its *Proceedings* and other publications show no falling off from the high standard which our editors have always set before themselves and have now for so long maintained. In one respect, however, I may perhaps be allowed to call attention to an omission in our work which I should like to see repaired in the near future. It would be a matter of much satisfaction to me if one of our Fellows or someone outside our ranks were to give us a paper on Huguenot heraldry. 'Huguenot Genealogy and Heraldry,' I may remind you, are

expressly mentioned in the statement of the objects of our Society as subjects of our particular study.

Whilst on the subject of genealogy I should like to quote from a letter I have recently received from one of our Honorary Fellows, M. Charles Delgobe of Norway. He writes to me as follows :

'To-day I received the last published part of the *Proceedings* of the Huguenot Society and it made me very pleased and happy. From the first day I always studied all those parts with the closest attention and extracted nearly all pedigrees and annexed them to my most particular collections concerning every detail of minutes. Very interesting indeed for the knowledge of French genealogies.' To no one are we more indebted for these pedigrees than to Mr. Wagner, to whom it will be a delight to know what pleasure and interest he has given to so distinguished a gentleman as M. Delgobe.

The number of losses to the Society by resignation during the past year has fortunately been well below our average of recent years, but once again I must bemoan the fact that any such losses should be necessary. Except from waning of interest I find them difficult to account for, and though it has never been our ambition that the Society should be numerically a large one, I should nevertheless like to see our members increased to say 500, for it is to such increase that we must look for the supply of the sinews of war to meet the heavy but necessary expenses of printing and issuing our publications.

Death in its inexorable demand has claimed its toll of our Fellows during the past year, and though I do not intend to dwell over-long on that subject, yet it has been our custom, and I think a right one, to make at our Annual Meeting some mention of those whose course is run and to whom comes rest.

By the death on November 1 last of Lady Layard, the widow of Sir Henry Austen Layard, our first President, the Society has lost one of the links with its first history. Since Sir Henry's death in 1894 Lady Layard had lived almost entirely in Venice, where, it was said (in an obituary notice which appeared in *The Times*), her death would prove an irreparable loss to the English colony. A pedigree of her

husband's family was printed in a recent number of our *Proceedings*, and from that it will be seen with how many Huguenot families the deceased lady could claim connexion through her marriage. She herself had been a Fellow of the Society since 1888.

In connexion with our Layard pedigree I must record here the death of another member of the family so recently as Friday last, May 9, in the person of Mrs. Louisa Jane Margary. Mrs. Margary was not a Fellow of the Society but her husband's family is represented in our list by her son Mr. A. C. Margary.

Two very distinguished Fellows have been lost to the Society by the deaths on August 9, 1912, of the Right Hon. Sir Alfred Wills, and on January 31 last of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. Their lives were too full to permit of their taking any active part in our work, but we may account it as a great asset to the cause we have at heart that two men of such distinction in the world should, by joining our ranks, have given such evidence of their interest in the Society and in the Huguenot connexions of their respective families.

The death of the Rev. Léon Dégremont on December 27, 1912, robs us of a once very familiar figure at our meetings. Monsieur Dégremont had been pastor of the French Protestant Church in Soho Square since 1893 and a Fellow of the Society since 1895. Himself a descendant of the Huguenot family of Roux, he always took a very lively interest in our work and was a man of many activities in the various institutions associated with the French community in London.

Major-General Thomas Porter Berthon, R.A., died on May 31, 1912, having been a Fellow of the Society since 1890.

Colonel George Carleton, who died on March 12 last in his 87th year, had been a Fellow of the Society since November 1885. He was connected with the Huguenot families of Audouin and Montgomery, and, although he never contributed to our printed *Proceedings*, was very keenly interested in the events of Huguenot history.

Mr. Alfred Lussignea had only been a Fellow of the Society since 1906. He died on March 29.

Mrs. William B. Paxton, as a frequent correspondent of

our secretaries, had been known to us as a very earnest student of Huguenot history for some years before she became a Fellow of the Society so recently as 1910. She was a descendant of the refugee families of La Nauze, de la Pierre and Hierôme. Her husband writes that it had been her hope to have attended the Annual Meeting of our Society this year, but her death on November 3 last intervened to deprive her of the opportunity of thus gratifying a long-expressed wish.

A still more recent recruit to our ranks whom we have had the misfortune to lose during the past year was Mr. John Herbert Saffery who only joined us in November last and died on February 5.

Sir James Austin Bourdillon, K.C.S.I., who died on April 23, had attained distinction in our Indian Civil Service, which he first joined in 1870. He had been a Fellow of the Society since November 1885.

Another of our distinguished Fellows who have within the last month been taken from us is the Venerable Archdeacon Perowne, D.D., who joined us in 1888. With characteristic Huguenot longevity he lived to attain the age of eighty-nine.

The same age had been attained by Mrs. Porcher who passed away on April 29. Until quite recently she was a regular attendant at our meetings. She became a Fellow of the Society in 1898 and claimed connexion with the Huguenot families of Porcher, Boucard, and Chamier.

Another of our lady Fellows whom death has deprived us of during the past year was Miss Saurin, who was connected with many Huguenot families.

One of the aims of this Society is the friendly relations with kindred institutions at home and abroad, and the events connected with those societies. From Holland we receive the *Bulletin* published by the 'Commission pour l'histoire des Eglises Wallonnes.' Our association with that country was lately strengthened by the graceful tribute of Queen Wilhelmina, who in May 1912 visited the monument of Admiral Coligny in Paris, afterwards laying a wreath thereon. At her subsequent visit to the Elysée Palace, the Queen said 'I am proud of the French blood which flows in my veins and of the

fact that the name of my race is associated with France.' The Queen's ancestral lineage with the House of Orange and William the Third links three countries in sympathetic union. The German Emperor also referred to Coligny when he unveiled a monument to him at Wilhelmshaven in October 1912; the Emperor spoke of Coligny as 'a great warrior and religious hero, as well as a leader of the Huguenots.'

The *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, under the able editorship of Monsieur Weiss (our Honorary Fellow), includes articles of wide interest for the past year. Reviews of standard works and accounts of meetings are also found in its pages, and in the July number (1912) is a review of a book by Sir Sidney Lee on the French Renaissance in England which claims our merited attention; while the influence of Huguenot literature in England is strikingly put forth.

In another number we find an essay on Locke and the Huguenots, treating of a period when English writers were much influenced by French thought. Locke studied the condition of Protestantism in Languedoc in 1677; he was also a warm friend of Nicholas Thoynard, a scientist well known for his linguistic attainments.

The Annual Conference of the French Society was held at Mas d'Azil in the Department of the Ariège (October 1912), a district of great Huguenot interest.

Among the learned contributors to the *Bulletin* was M. Gabriel Monod, whose death is recorded in its pages, and who was a cousin of the late Dr. Henri Monod. Besides being a member of the 'Académie des Sciences' at Paris M. Gabriel Monod was the founder of the *Revue Historique*, a journal well known in England.

The 'Société d'Histoire de Genève,' now in the 37th year of its existence, sends its publications for the past session. The Vaudois Society also claims our historical regard in the long-past annals of the brave Vaudois, fighting against their oppressors, the rulers of Savoy. Our Honorary Member, M. le Chevalier Vinay, was the late President of this Society, whose headquarters are at Torre Pellice, in the

romantic Vaudois valleys. Colleges there and in Florence have long been known by their educational work in training pastors for the Reformed Church.

Nearer home we can chronicle the 'Société Jersiaise' and the continuation in its pages of the *Actes des états de Jersey* is brought down to the years 1785–88, and is a most valuable record of the administration and polity of that island. It is worthy of notice to mention the celebration of the foundation of the French Protestant Church at Brighton, which took place in November last, when an address was given by Pasteur Bost of Havre, who is known as a contributor to the *Bulletin* of the French Society, as well as an historical scholar.

The influence exerted by the few foreign churches which remain from the number that once existed has been ably expressed by Dean Henson, who in his recent work on *Puritanism in England* writes, in respect of the French church in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral:

'It has a special value to English churchmen, it comes to us from a time in which the National Church of England was in close fellowship with the other Reformed Churches, and it illustrates the position which in those days was common to all Protestants, that the essentials of Christianity are not to be found in the region of external systems, but in a common faith.'

In reviewing the underlying influences in French history, the Dean proceeds:

'The French Revolution was latent in the policy that suppressed the French Reformation, and the unhappy discord between Church and State, that is at the present time the salient feature of its internal situation, is directly traceable to the crimes and follies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.'

America, which was a land of religious freedom for those refugees who fled from France, continues to exert much influence by the publications of the Huguenot Society of America, which cannot fail to interest us by a common kinship and especially by the records of history and genealogy, linking refugee families at home with their ancestors in the New World. The publications both of the American Society and

that of South Carolina, as well as many independent books and pamphlets, are among the valuable acquisitions to our Huguenot Library.

The International Congress of Historical Studies was held in London last month. Our Society was represented thereat by Mr. Poyntz Stewart and Mr. Maurice Wilkinson. These delegates attended many lectures, especially such as they thought would interest our Society, and their reports will be printed in our *Proceedings*, and will prove no doubt interesting reading to our Fellows.

It would be almost impossible for me not to refer to the position of the Protestants in Ireland to-day in any remarks I may have to make as regards our ancestors in that island and the many of their descendants who are still there at the present day. I intend to touch on no political question nor to excite feelings that may possibly be antagonistic to my hearers. But we cannot but be aware that matters are at present terribly strained, and only too conscious that conditions of peace are possible to poor humanity only so long as it is not tried beyond endurance. That the hatchet may remain buried must be our most earnest hope. But if the worst feelings of antagonism are aroused, who can say but that the same old principle which actuated our ancestors to fight for all they held sacred will not again prevail in this our own day? May the tenets of toleration be the means of persuading both parties that no tyranny can ever be victorious in the end, and that the wider each makes the chasm the harder it will be to bridge! Gold and religion have always been—and perhaps ever will be—the incentives to war and faction, but surely it is a pitiful thing if after two centuries and more we have still to admit that the only settlement of our religious differences lies in force. What should we say of science if told that it had not advanced one iota in the last two hundred years? And yet brotherly love, relief and truth are to be desired far above the acquisition of general and scientific knowledge.

But to conclude with matters more clearly pertinent to our Society. Every presidential address given in the past has

borne expressions of gratitude and appreciation for the services so ungrudgingly given by our Executive, and repetition, when of necessity demanded, will not, I trust, weary you. To-night you have heard an excellent report from the Council as regards our past labours. This, I venture to submit, shows no falling off either in the work of our editors or on the part of our more permanent staff. Nor do our past Presidents on vacating office permit themselves to be as extinct volcanoes. So amongst those who have materially helped us on our way during the past year I may mention the names of Mr. William Minet and Sir William Portal. To Mr. Wagner, Mr. Poyntz Stewart, Mr. Kershaw and others we are indebted for invaluable assistance. More personal are my own obligations to the Treasurer, Mr. Hervé Browning, to the Honorary Secretary, Colonel Pitcher, and especially to Mr. Giuseppi, who in my judgment year by year goes on breaking records in his zeal for the benefit of the Society.

Let our enthusiasm for the aims and objects of the Society be untiring; let our endeavours be to put past history in broad light before our readers; and, lastly, let us ever remember that—

> 'However full the world,
> There is room for an earnest man.'

The French Hierarchy and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

By CHARLES POYNTZ STEWART, F.S.A.Scot.

'Fides suadenda non imperanda.'
St. Bernard.

Louis XIV commenced his personal autocratic rule at the early age of twenty-three when emancipated by the death of Mazarin in March 1661. Brought up with Jesuit confessors, surrounded by their influence, he lost no time in proving that they now had what France had never yet produced—a monarch wholly devoted to their interests—and without loss of time issued his first Edict against the Huguenots the very next year.

The rapid growth of Jesuit power and persecution of Huguenots was largely assisted by an influential, widespread society of which little mention has been made by historians—the 'Company of the Holy Sacrament,' founded in 1629 by those who found that Richelieu and Mazarin were alike bent on annihilating the political influence of the Protestants rather than on suppressing heresy, for the view of each minister was neither to extend or diminish the clauses of the Edict of Nantes, but to make the King's authority an unquestioned political power, though not necessarily a religious one.

Hence arose the above 'Company' or 'Cabal of the Devout'; supported by the royal confessors and heads of the great regular orders they obtained large sums for the institutions of new Catholics, the bribing for conversions and the machinery afterwards carried out more thoroughly and systematically; in short to it the Calvinists owed the beginning of the policy which was to be their ruin.

The extreme views and practices of the Company, however,

made many enemies even amongst the clergy who suffered from the Society's spies and secret reports, so it was dissolved in 1666.

Meanwhile edicts and decrees followed each other rapidly: indeed up to the King's death in 1715 they numbered about 480.

The King relied on the Church to condone his immoralities and to obtain after each cruel edict larger financial grants from each successive 'Assembly of the Clergy' by the enforced contributions known euphemistically as the voluntary gift. The clergy required the King for carrying out their extermination of the Huguenots, and as they could not get all they wanted at once, it had to be obtained by increasing resolute demands at every possible opportunity, chiefly at their 'Assemblies of the Clergy,' when, by asking more than they expected, a good portion of their requests was granted; those declined were brought forward till finally satisfied. There was absolute reciprocity: the Hierarchy purchased violent measures from the King and repaid him by absolution and condonation of his relapses and by the money he so sorely wanted—the King enforcing their gratitude by his vicarious sacrifices of lives and properties of their victims—his scapegoats. Especially did the Church profit when the Sovereign's illness and spasmodic repentances required him to seek absolution yet more urgently, and barter away the Protestants in exchange for it, still more generously.

Then came the climax of mendacity boldly proclaimed by the French Hierarchy, who persuaded the too willing Sovereign that there were no Huguenots left, all having been gently brought into the true Church by the flowery paths prepared for them by his Most Catholic Majesty; and as the privileges granted by the original Edict of Nantes had been withdrawn, 'there was no reason why its full "Revocation" should not be signed by Louis, that Edict being now useless.'

This crime was consummated in October 1685, and its effects on its victims, on the nation, and on the opinion of all Europe are known to you, but its repressive results disappointed the Hierarchy and its royal slave.

After thirteen years both had to abase their pride and acknowledge that the Revocation was 'worse than a crime—it was a blunder,' disastrous alike to the Church which had insisted on it and the State which was paralysed by it.

The galleys, prisons, convents, and institutions for females and children were full, notwithstanding loud protests from the Protestant Powers, and even allies of France, yet there remained over a million suffering Huguenots faithful to their religion.

Early in 1698 the King directed the Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, to obtain from the bishops and archbishops reports as to the best means for their conversion; the advisability of compelling them to attend Mass and Instruction; how far authority should be stretched for these purposes; whether those who had fled should be re-admitted; what was to be done with those who only nominally abjured; whether the 'Revocation' was to be withdrawn, &c. &c.

Many years ago I examined these voluminous *Mémoires des Evêques*, still preserved in the French War Office, and which have since been edited for the *Archives de l'Histoire Religieuse de la France* by Monsr. Lemoine, and found them of the greatest value, having been absolutely confidential, entrusted only to the Sovereign in Council, and divulging indisputably the intolerant aspirations which animated the highest prelates, few of whom professed to favour somewhat less rigorous measures and clearly did so not from principle, but from expediency alone.

Besides these we have equally strong evidence in the fourteen volumes of the *Actes, Titres, et Mémoires du Clergé de France*, published by order of the clergy of 1768–71, but now will confine our observations to the former collection.

Three archbishops and twenty-two bishops sent in long and detailed replies to the King, from which we give some extracts.

The Archbishop of Sens thus sums up the different opinions held by the Hierarchy:

(1) 'When Huguenot parents have money their children should be taken from them and educated at *heavy cost* to the former in Catholic Colleges and Monasteries; the most obstinate to be sent

to prison; bring legal actions against the *memory* of those who have insisted on dying in their Protestant Faith; no Protestants to be employed by the State nor allowed to act as Doctors, Surgeons, Apothecaries, &c., &c.

'These are amongst the mildest measures proposed, though more severe ones may be required, and they should be carried out by the Temporal Power: if so, let it be done without consultation with the Bishops or asking their approval, which would bring *odium on them.*'

(2) He then shows the drawbacks to the above measures, but anticipates little good from either constraint or gentleness, and commits himself to no opinion except that the first plan would be more popular, the latter more advantageous to Church and State alike.

The views of Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, as to the 'recently converted' Huguenots, may be summed up as follows: it is indisputable that the King has the prerogative of *legally compelling* all his subjects to hold his Faith only, and that is the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion: also to prohibit all others under legal penalties.

He should therefore order *all* his subjects (amongst many other things) to attend the Parish Mass; to bring their children to the priest in church for baptism and punish parents for having them baptised at home; *all* the King's subjects indiscriminately are to be ordered to attend Mass, Confession, and Communion, and the disobedient and unbelieving are to be told that though their infraction of the two last may be tolerated, yet their attendance is to be judicially *enforced,* notwithstanding that by the spirit and laws of the Church they ought to be excluded: for open sinners cannot receive such a Holy Sacrament as Marriage without Confession and Communion, and as all 'newly converted' are such from persistent defiance of both, they are not to be married without coming to Confession and giving solemn promise that they will really live as good Catholics; more severity to be exercised towards those who have once deceived the Church; penalties to be inflicted on those who *relapse* by breaking the above promises. That they are to be 'tolerated' yet 'ordered' by law to

attend, and compelled to live in sin because matrimony was denied them both by the Church and the Law, yet then prosecuted for 'immorality'—seem unholy applications of Church principles.

As to the dying and their burial Bossuet requires that 'facilities' (in reality, compulsion) shall be allowed to the priest to attend Calvinists, whether they or their families desire it or not; should this be refused the dead are to be buried without ecclesiastical rites and the friends are not to take them to any cemetery or burial-ground, nor with ostentation or followers: the date of these deaths may be registered but without indication of place or date of burial.

Priests are to interpret 'favourably' (to the Catholic faith) the feelings of the dying, and believe 'easily' that they are called at the express wish of the former, shortly before dying, unless indeed it be notorious that this was not so, in which case it would have a bad effect. Dragging the corpse to a ditch or unconsecrated ground should be avoided, but only because it may cause greater animosity against the Catholics—not from humanity.

Bossuet continues: These New-Catholics were *compulsorily* to attend instructions in Catholic doctrine at the churches but not during services; children up to sixteen were compulsorily to attend Catholic schools, and parents were forbidden, under heavy penalties, to turn away their children from the doctrines taught them in the schools and churches: should they do so their children are to be taken away and placed in colleges and convents or with 'good' Catholic families. The Bishop of Chartres deprecates violent measures—not because inhuman but lest Roman Catholics in England should suffer in consequence! Yet he approves of the 'strong measures' adopted to procure conversions (though such might not be sincere and genuine) and compulsory attendance at Mass and even Communion. He proposes that those 'Heretics' disobeying these enactments should pay double taxes in default of bringing a certificate every three months, showing that they had attended Mass on Sundays and Saints' days and also Confession and Communion.

This excellent bishop desires that children be taken away from 'obstinate parents'; that Protestant books be destroyed, pastors prosecuted, and no mitigation of severity entertained.

The Archbishop of Reims declares that those 'doubtfully' converted are not to be married with any Church ceremony, but on going before the civil authority with four witnesses and declaring that they take each other as husband and wife may be allowed 'to live together' by the document then given to them. He would forbid all male heretics to leave the country under penalty of the galleys, and women to be imprisoned and their goods confiscated, parents and guardians helping the escape of children or minors to suffer in the same way.

The Bishop of Chalons is very frank, acknowledging that forced conversions only produce hypocrites; complains that the heretics are allowed to leave the country in which their souls may be saved, and that being not far from the frontier of the Netherlands those of his diocese cross over to be there legally married; wishes their children to be taken from their parents, whom he considers their murderers ('Parentes sensimus homicidas'); orphans to be given Catholic guardians, the expense to be paid by their families; he is against marriages of Protestant men to Catholic girls—should 'Calvinist' parents object to their children marrying Catholics the young people are to present their request to the local judges, who will cite the parents and, if he disapprove of the reasons assigned by the latter, he shall authorise such marriage, ordering the father to hand over to his son such sum as he will be entitled to on his father's death, but those who are not *proved* to be sincere in their conversion are not to be granted the sacrament of marriage at all.

He also demands the enforcement of all edicts and laws against Protestants leaving the country, selling or alienating their land or goods without royal permission granted only on the advice of the local judges, priests, and 'old' Catholic inhabitants of their district, under penalty of the contract being null and void, of a fine equal to one-third of the property involved to be paid by both buyer and seller respectively, and of a hundred crowns by the notary employed; no fugitive

to be allowed to take money out of France; Protestants not to be admitted to any office, business, or trade, this to be carried out by a strict application of the many laws already passed with this object; those forced to attend Catholic services to sit in places apart and all to be compelled to leave after the address—as were formerly heretics, excommunicated persons, and those performing public penance; neither are they to meet at each other's houses for reading the Bible, praying, or singing hymns; when sick, priests and good Catholics are to have free access to them for their conversion, without interference by their relatives; priests to be informed of such cases of illness.

The Bishop of Soissons is against forcing Huguenots to attend Mass. Heretics being excommunicated *ipso facto*, and the 'badly converted' are heretics, therefore churches should be closed against them, but their *children* should be converted by every means.

The Bishop of Nantes, on June 25, 1700, reports some cases of obstinate heretics, especially of a Marquise de Courboyé and of an unfortunate girl of twenty-two who cut out her tongue lest she should give her consent!

The Bishop of Luçon suggests that all children be compelled to attend school during the hours of religious instruction by the priests, under heavy penalties for disobedience; no child under fifteen to be sent out of the district under pretence of being there educated, without permission from the priest.

Where the means of the 'badly converted' admit of it, they shall be compelled to pay the entire cost of the children taken from them and brought up in Catholic convents, monasteries, or schools—which shall not be liable for any portion of such outlay; no 'badly converted' Catholic is to be allowed to marry any but an 'old Catholic,' or to employ any but originally Catholic servants; the girls marrying an 'old Catholic' might receive a small gift of about 5*l.* or 7*l.* to attract them; similar gifts might be given to the 'converted' who are 'good Catholics'; if a dying Huguenot who refuses the sacraments offered by the priests gets well again, he shall be *heavily* fined for the scandal he has caused; should he, however,

have died, such fine to be *much heavier* even to the confiscation of a portion of his property, or other penalty ; no one to inherit the paternal or maternal property without due certificates that he is a good Catholic.

Noblemen and gentry are to be deprived of their nobility and more heavily taxed than others, if not 'good Catholics.' The Bishop concludes by advising even stronger measures, quoting St. Augustine as an authority for this counsel.

The Bishop of La Rochelle insists on the above points and that all officials who are not good Catholics should be removed lest they be lenient towards heretics ; and more especially all doctors, surgeons, apothecaries, lest being of superior education they confirm the heretics in their errors ; the 'doubtfully converted' should only employ 'old Catholics,' neither should they be permitted to let or sell their lands to other than good Catholics, or be admitted to keep shops or become masters in any craft or trade ; or even be employed therein by good Catholics, so that starvation shall bring them to request for instruction in the 'True Faith,' the bishop adding 'this point is important.' It is necessary, he continues, that grandmothers, old maids, and widows of the 'badly converted' be declared incapable of making wills, or of bequeathing or selling their property of any kind whatsoever, because they influence their heirs not to be converted by threatening to disinherit them. Old women should receive a pittance and be relegated into the interior of France, amongst Catholics only, so as to be themselves converted and prevented influencing 'the doubtful' ; the 'bad Catholic' nobility and gentry are to be deprived of their privileges and appointments, to be heavily taxed, and have troops quartered on them. 'They cannot complain to the King who is their master.'

All property of those Protestants who have escaped to foreign lands should be confiscated as their relatives send them their rents, &c., the more so as his Majesty requires large sums for the education of the children taken from their Calvinist parents.

Those who propagate heresy and keep others therein should be separated and placed in the interior, or imprisoned,

or expelled the country penniless, or have a crushing 'Billet' of troops; no 'new converts' should hold any official post whose wives are still 'obstinate'—or they must be *separated.* The bishop considers that the 'new converts' who have been married against the rules of the Church are not *to be considered married* and *must be prosecuted for living immorally to the scandal of the Faithful!*—and concludes his thirty long paragraphs by declaring that parents should be answerable for the faith of their children, for their being kept in France, and for producing them periodically to the authorities who will keep a strict list of them.

The Bishop of Saintes reiterates these views, regretting to see the scandal caused by the non-baptism of Huguenot infants; 'cohabitation' because marriage was illegal; the dead buried without registration or witnesses, and their corpses dragged on hurdles to fields and ditches. He also proposes the same severe measures towards those dying 'in obstinacy'; to close *all* trades and appointments; to seize children and scatter them separately amongst Catholics.

The Bishop of Bazas follows the same line, approving compulsion to force Huguenots to attend Mass on the ground that as the 'Temples' and schools had been razed to the ground, the Romanist churches were the only places where religious teaching was obtainable, and concludes with fulsome flattery of his immoral King Louis XIV, as does the Bishop of Agen, who proposes not only confiscation of fugitives' property, but the prosecution of the dead, who shall be declared infamous, as 'the great results arising from this salutary constraint would excuse what would appear *annoying* to the newly-converted'!

The Bishop of Cahors fixes the age for separating children from their parents at ten for girls, and twelve for boys—the parents being forced to pay all they possibly can towards their maintenance, and marriage to be strictly forbidden.

The Bishop of Montauban's view is that the newly or badly converted by their abjuration (even when under compulsion) and by their baptism become subject to his Church and should therefore be *forced* to attend her services and obey her rites

and sacraments, though milder measures would be advisable as probably more efficacious, yet gives many references to ecclesiastical laws authorising severity.

The Archbishop of Albi is of the same opinion, giving numerous instances of the persecution by Constantine, Honorius and Justinian, 'who were assisted by the Bishops without whom no decisions were arrived at—an evident proof that these laws were just and in accordance with the Spirit of God.' He justifies the horrors of the crusade against the Albigenses, and the pronouncement of Clement VIII on the Edict of Nantes when promulgated by Henry IV—'the most cursed Edict imaginable by which liberty of conscience was allowed to each and all—the worst thing in the world.'

The Bishop of Condom would compel the children of the newly converted to attend catechism from five years old to sixteen; and as to irreverence on the part of adults compulsorily attending services, 'a troop of cavalry would soon stop that in a whole Province,' a suggestive comment on the behaviour of these 'booted missionaries.'

The Bishop of Rieux praises the 'piety of the King . . . nothing is more holy than the purpose of the King, nothing more in the proper sequence of things than His deference to the Ministers of Jesus Christ.'

It is a pity they were not more severe towards his ostentatious vices and his openly acknowledged 'favourites' whom he seated in the Queen's carriage. The bishop proceeds, 'as St. Louis gave the property of the Albigenses to those officers who had distinguished themselves against the heretics, so ought it to be done now.'

The Bishop of Mirepoix considers the abolition of Huguenot marriages the most difficult point and asks for an ecclesiastical assembly to consider the question. The Bishop of St. Pons finds such difficulties on the question of marriages that he will not give any opinion thereon, but believes mixed marriages to be sacrilegious.

The Bishop of Montpellier is against forcible measures against those who profess to have been converted as they only produce hypocrites—not Catholics—though he thinks they

should be used against those who, contrary to the King's orders, cause congregations to meet, and exercise the Protestant faith—against leaders, preachers and those who set evil examples, and that parents be compelled to send their children to Mass and all classes for instruction in the Faith.

The eloquent Fléchier, Bishop of Nîmes, says there are 40,000 Calvinists in his diocese alone, and advises a combination of instruction and terrorism for their conversion—neither alone would be efficacious—but the approving of this the State is to carry out, as also the penalties, against those professedly but not sincerely 'converted.' The Bishop of Alais reckons about 42,000 Protestants in his diocese and recalls the Law of 1683 by which all children of parents who had professed Catholicism were to be deemed Catholics—whether they themselves had done so or not. As 'Conversions' were commenced in 1680 many of these children would be thirty years of age, are all under the rule of the Church of which they are legally members, and amenable to her laws.

Though he advises gentleness, he emphasises the fact that sovereigns who enacted penal laws against heretics—*which it would be advisable to use now*—have never been accused of force and violence, but on the contrary have been eulogised—as for example Justinian by the Sixth Council—and there is no more sure and certain doctrine than this from the Council of Nice to that of Trent. Where then is the harm of employing now similar means which have been considered sacred by antiquity, universally approved, desired, and demanded by the Church?

To touch the heretics in their temporal possessions, to preclude them from *inheriting or bequeathing*, to deprive wives of their dowry or jointure would produce immediate good results or only leave ruined families.

As a great concession heads of families might be allowed to leave the kingdom, in accordance with the Law of June 17, 1683, their property being transferred to their children or relatives if Catholics, if not, then to be confiscated to the State. All who do not live as Catholics should not be capable of giving, selling, willing, or receiving legacies, gifts, or reversions,

and on their decease everything they possess should go to their Catholic relatives, or be confiscated to the State.

The heretics may, however, bequeath and transfer to *Catholic children or relatives*, and all official posts and the medical professions of every grade should be closed to Protestants. The bishop lays down that the State is bound to aid the Church in all that appertains to the suppression of heresy; and believes the errors of the Albigenses would still have been with us had not St. Louis and the Bishop of Languedoc employed the ancient methods always used by the Church to extirpate heresy.

The Bishop of Viviers complains much of a preacher who, disguised as an officer, got up congregations in the woods, held Communion service and distributed tracts; of another who lived in a village with his wife and children, but being denounced by one of the 'well-converted,' was found hidden in bed with a fine Geneva Bible and some ridiculous sermons. He reiterates the fiction that the conversion of all Protestants throughout France was an accomplished fact, though it really was absolutely untrue. But the statement flattered the pride of Louis, as being the result of his penal measures against those who dared to differ with him and hold another faith.

He advises marriage to be refused to the 'newly converted,' nor are they to act as godfathers or godmothers unless proved to be 'good' Catholics for a year; that a zealous and good man be appointed to attend the men to church, and a similar woman to go with the wives, as inspectors who will keep a list of the absent ones; doctors, surgeons, apothecaries are to notify to the priests those Protestants who are ill, and not to visit or relieve them after the third day if they refuse to see the priests; in the latter case the priest will call in the magistrates to draw up an official report with irreproachable witnesses, and the ecclesiastics shall assiduously attend the sick person till his death; every one who is one year absent from Easter Communion shall not at his death be taken to any church or buried in consecrated ground; all officials to carry out rigorously these regulations; those

not performing their religious duties, those not attending religious classes are to be fined and the proceeds applied for poor relief; children at seven to be taken from their parents and placed in Catholic institutions, convents, and families at the fathers' expense. This is almost the longest, most detailed of all the bishops' 'Reports.'

The Bishop of Grenoble deplores the state of the supposed 'converted' in his diocese. The majority neither go to Mass or Sermon, but read the printed ones of their pastors; pray and read Psalms when visiting each other; have family prayers, morning and evening, as at Geneva; prevent their children going to Church or Catechism; do not come to Confession or Communion; when ill their own pastors attend them, the priest being only sent for when they have lost the power of speech; the priest is refused admittance, and the dead person is buried at night in their garden.

As they cannot be married in the churches of his diocese till they have abjured and received certificates from their priests that they have for six months at least performed their duties as Catholics, some of them cross over to Geneva, are there married, return with their 'pretended' wives; others perform their duties as Catholics till married and no longer, though threatened with excommunication.

The Bishop of Grenoble therefore wishes His Majesty to command all who have not yet abjured to do so within three months, and live in future as Catholics, or their entire property and goods are to be confiscated; that those 'converted' attend Mass, Sermons, Catechisms, keep festivals and fast days—as also their children and servants under the same penalty of confiscation, and that the bishops and officials carry out this law.

He evidently considers these measures *mild*, for he deprecates 'force' as not being successful, and '*at present*' the billeting of dragoons, and the shutting up of the obstinate in convents should not be enforced, though he does not think there will be many real and honest 'converts,' but the wish for peace and quiet and undisturbed possession of their property may keep them within the bounds of duty; the children should

certainly be taken from their parents, who should be made to pay for their maintenance in convents and other institutions or at the priests' houses; parents should be fined every time the child does not attend religious instruction, or if they prevent the priest from visiting their Protestant relatives or proposing the Sacrament to them; and should the dying refuse it, their bodies shall, by order of the judges, be cast on dunghills; doctors should not be allowed to return and visit the sick the third day if the confessor or priest has not been previously sent for,—'this being in conformity with the rules of the Church'; no innkeeper or public-house keeper to be allowed to sell meat on forbidden days without the bishop's permission: those crossing to Geneva for marriage and returning with their wives should for such sacrilege against a sacrament (a crime condemned alike by Church and State) receive 'exemplary punishment.'

Finally, he prays for a grant of money for those 'converted' Protestants who perform their Catholic duties, as he himself had by such means brought over 4000 families to the faith.

Amongst the twenty-five archbishops and bishops who sent in their 'Reports' we find such distinguished names as Bossuet, Fléchier, Le Tellier, De Noailles, de Camus, but a great one is missing: we search in vain for François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon—already three years Archbishop of Cambrai.

His ten years' daily and personal experience with Huguenots was invaluable and would have had immense weight.

But Fénelon was in a delicate and difficult 'impasse': to oppose his colleagues would add to the numerous enemies who were even then awaiting that Papal condemnation of his 'Quiétisme'[1] which they had so long worked for and finally obtained on March 12, 1692, a very few months after these Reports were demanded.

Moreover, his ostensibly peaceful system of conversion—the surplice covering the sword—was a failure; to agree with

[1] Quiétisme was a mystical doctrine set forth by Molinos, a Spanish priest who died in the prisons of the Inquisition in 1696. The name is derived from the state of peace and tranquillity at which the soul arrived by absorption in the contemplation and love of God, after passing 'through the phases of purification and enlightenment.'

the severe measures those colleagues proposed would be worse than that failure—it would be acknowledging it. Hence probably his remarkable abstention.

The Reports of the intendants or governors of provinces are hardly less interesting though not so directly concerned with our subject, as they investigate and advise purely from a secular and political aspect of the question. M. d'Aguesseau remarks, however, that

'some of these Governors have been prompted by the *indiscreet zeal* of certain *unenlightened ecclesiastics* and "Religious" to *treat with extreme severity* those of whom they suspect the sincere Catholicism. They tax them, crush them with military billeted on them, and exercise all the power they have to force them to attend Church and the Sacraments.'

'The morals and disorderly lives of the ecclesiastics are the greatest obstacles against conversions.' M. de Pontchartrain recalls the Edict of October 1685 forbidding *all* exercise of the Reformed Faith under penalty of confiscation and imprisonment or death. 'These and the penalty of galley slavery' should be strictly carried out against those fleeing from France; all sales by them to be illegal—a useful measure, as the King might give their property back to those who wish to re-enter France as 'good Catholics'; enactments such as disarming the people should be applicable to Catholics and Protestants alike, it being politic not to make any distinction or difference on the ground of religion; those keeping schools in defiance of the law of 1685 to be severely punished.

'The law orders prosecution against the memory of those who have died Protestants, but this though wise and pious is likely to produce public scandal, for if there be not great discretion used (which *is a rare virtue amongst ecclesiastics, in whom zeal stifles it and causes them to forget that prudence is as necessary as charity*) grave scandals arise which it is equally dangerous either to punish or to ignore. Good laymen should be sent to visit the sick under some pretext, and report their feelings towards religion to the priest before he takes measures to interview them. Certain bad cases might be

made examples of, but in such a way as not to produce an evil effect on the public.

'The first thing is to impress *on bishops and ecclesiastics* gentleness and charitable feelings towards the Calvinists and not to threaten them constantly with imprisonment and the civil authority, but rather *to appear* to be the mediators between the royal authority and those who disobey it.

'So far there has been nothing better than taking the children from their parents to educate them elsewhere, but it has its drawbacks: in many cases it has only caused them to revolt against their fathers; turned away parental affection to others; made them of no religion whatever; and in reality shows that the instructions for their reception are not of general utility. His Majesty might bring together enlightened judges and ecclesiastics to consider the best course to be pursued—but secretly and without ostentation. . . .'

Some fourteen other Reports are similar. The Order of M. de Bâville, Governor of Languedoc, of December 22, 1697, carries out all the wishes of the bishops, which we have already given, and on January 3, 1698, he orders that no Calvinists be allowed to cross over without permission into the Principality of Orange, where their faith was tolerated. The penalties for so doing should be *perpetual* slavery in the galleys for men, and a ruinous fine of 3000 livres for women. It would then be far more *convenient* to prosecute them for breaking this regulation than for their religion.

He writes again on May 11, 1698—a very long Report—

'*insisting on gentleness and persuasiveness by the Clergy instead of harshness*, but enforcing taking away of young children; payment for them by their parents; compulsory attendance at Church; prosecution of the memories of the dead; closing of professions to the Huguenots; the placing of pious, capable Parish Priests in lieu of the majority, who are unsuitable for conversion, cannot preach, and even frequently afford bad examples by their morals.'

Attached to this are two others which mention that

'the greater number of the Priests are very ignorant and Catholics and Huguenots alike are displeased with their conduct—their livings

are only worth 50 Crowns, so one cannot find respectable people for them; Churches should also be built to replace the Temples destroyed.'

These Reports go on to suggest

'examples might be made of persons useless to the State, which would have a wonderful effect: how many *women without belongings*. of gentlemen who have never served the King, of citizens who are remarked in their parishes for carrying out their Religion badly and inciting others to do likewise: it would appear to be a just and *mild action* towards them to transport them (after due admonition) to the frontier of Holland or Geneva, *without allowing them to sell their goods*, or carry *away anything with them except only what they want for their journey*.

'A very few such examples would fill the Catholic churches.'

In the course of a very long Report M. de Bâville acknowledges very grudgingly the loyalty and patriotism of the Huguenots, who remained faithful to their King at the time of the attacks by the Duke of Savoy, nor in any single one of these documents do we find their steadfast allegiance impugned, even after all the horrors they had been subjected to.

As to the allegations that fugitives would carry away their money with them,

'they are not to be allowed to do this or receive any rents or benefits from the property they leave behind them. Without such resources, the majority would have returned as the necessity of living is the main-spring of men's belief and wishes, and the surest means of reducing them to obedience. The distinction of Persecuter of Heretics has never been a discredit to the most Christian kings, even the Church has often praised them for it . . . only this *Evangelical violence* can succeed in rescuing them for the Kingdom of Heaven.'

Another memorial from the Governor of Dauphiné advises 'moderation towards these Heretics lest the desertion of the kingdom by those who by agriculture, commerce and arts, are useful would bring damage to the State.'

M. Begon, Governor of La Rochelle, points out that for *State reasons* marriages of Huguenots should be solemnised as was done before 'the Revocation,' and that such severity

should not continue regarding their confessing and communicating in the churches, for the population is rapidly decreasing by the prodigious number of fugitives: in one diocese alone (Saintes) by one fourth, and in a village about 620 have fled in two years. Large numbers are compelled to remain single because they cannot find priests to marry them.

The Governor at Limoges (de Bernage) does not mince matters and is quite the man for carrying out strictly everything the Hierarchy asked for. Acknowledging that nearly all the conversions after the 'Revocation Edict' were not sincere and that such measures only produce sacrilegious hypocrisy, he still advises severity by which leaders of the Heretics should be exiled, the women shut up in convents.

These examples should, however, be made cautiously and be applied as rarely as possible to those in important trades and commerce—*for the sake of the State.* On every point he would carry out strictly the severities *asked for by the bishops*—viz. forcible baptism of infants, refusal of marriage and burial, compulsory attendance at church, &c., separation of young children from their parents, who shall also forfeit right to bequeath, inherit, buy or sell property, withhold or give consent to marriage of their children; annuities to be given to the 'converted' to attract others; most trades to be closed to Calvinists; their corpses to be refused burial rites of any kind, not to be interred in consecrated ground but in any place ordered by the magistrate, before or after sunset, without ornament or light, and accompanied by eight persons only.

The letter of the Cardinal de Noailles also contains severe advice on all these points, intermingled with hopes that a milder course of action between too much indulgence and too great harshness may be found sufficient—one which he much prefers though long and tedious.

These reasons are clearly on the ground of expediency alone, for he shows that scandals will arise through the more courageous and obstinate; compulsion and suffering will only irritate, envenom and infuriate, for the more feelings are repressed the more violent they are. He cites Spain, 'where persecution of the Moors only produced bad Christians

and depopulated the country, while even now the Inquisition is fully occupied with their descendants.' But in France severity only strengthened reform, which had begun to diminish under Henry IV after the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, when Huguenots were allowed to live in peace.

All these 'Reports' and the divergence of their views were carefully examined and condensed for Louis XIV, and after much serious deliberation and solemn statements by the clergy and provincial governors as to whether extreme measures or a medium course between too great leniency and too great severity should be adopted, the Edict of December 1698 was issued by the King.

It is peculiar in this respect, that it does not make much special mention of the Huguenots, though in reality intended for them alone, but is to be binding on the whole nation—both on Catholics and Protestants. This was founded on the fiction, carefully impressed on the King as a fact all through,

'that after the public abjurations by his Protestant subjects, it would suffice to lay down general rules for both Catholics and Protestants, rules which would not be advisable for the King's service to address to the latter alone, as it would acknowledge that what has been done has not been very successful, and that there is still a sufficiently large number of that "Pretended Reformed Religion" to require a Law for them in particular.'

Such is the statement in the condensed Report drawn up for the Sovereign.

Notwithstanding the ostensible moderation which was to characterise the King's Declaration, its clauses are as severe and drastic as possible, embodying *all* the prelates had asked for: it ordered the strict execution of the Revocation Edict and in its very first clause absolutely forbids the exercise of the 'pretended Reformed Religion'[1] in any form, or meetings for that purpose of any number of persons whatsoever, all the inhuman penalties of separation of children, confiscation, galleys, perpetual imprisonment in convents,

[1] This is the only mention of the Huguenot faith in the edict; this is in accordance with the advice of prelates and governors alike.

disinheritance, impossibility of legal marriage or Christian burial, the dragging of corpses on hurdles, the prosecution and defamation of the 'memory of the dead'—all these were left unrepealed so as to be used as wished.

A confidential letter of 'Instructions,' signed by the Sovereign on January 7, 1699, was also sent to the governors of provinces explaining in considerable detail how the Edict was to be strictly carried out everywhere by steady vigilance—unceasing and uninterrupted—

'*in concert with the archbishops and bishops*, once for all and by all the means at their disposal to assist *their* zeal and solicitude for the extension of the worship of God and of the Catholic Faith throughout the kingdom.'

In this collection there is also a very remarkable *Secret Memorial* which states that

'there are many things which could not be embodied either in the Edict or the Instructions [given above] either because they are to be even more secret than those Instructions, or because advisable to postpone their execution.'

The bishops observe that the regulation of May 24, 1686, ordering the dragging on hurdles of the bodies of those who refuse the sacraments to unconsecrated ground, fields, ditches, or dunghills,

'has everywhere produced evil effects and should be abrogated: the truth of this is evident and the avoiding of such sights in public necessary. Yet it has not been thought expedient to abrogate this by Law—(to say nothing of the "Instructions," which could not in that case be prevented from being made public)—so that the evil-minded *new Converts should not take advantage of this relaxation*. . . . Though advisable to avoid inflicting this penalty, which causes so much horror, it is right that it should be dreaded; consequently it has been thought better to make this a separate and secret Instruction and defer carrying it out till after the Edict has been published, and its effect seen.

'*Blood should be shed as little as possible.* In religious matters this irritates more than it dissuades, it flatters the wretches, who

flatter themselves with the false glory of martyrdom, which effaces shame and the fear of torture.

'Marriages between original Catholics and Huguenots may be most useful, and governors and their delegates are to effect these as much as they can, by gentle and *secret means*, but it has not been thought advisable to insert anything relating to this in the Instructions for the reasons above given, but to recommend it by a separate document.

'In the first "proposed Instructions" the King wished that no force or constraint be used to oblige the new converts to attend the Sacraments and the Holy Sacrifice at Mass. Since that, however, it has been perceived that if that Instruction become public, all of them will take it as an authorisation not to go to Mass: therefore in the revised Instructions the words relating to such attendance have been omitted. It is thought better to explain this matter later by *private* letter to the governors of Dauphiné, Languedoc, Montauban, and Poitou, so that they may manage with prudence such a delicate matter.'

Such were the views of the great Prelates of France: they were confidential, consequently undisguised, and are of great value, as they demonstrate clearly that it was the Church which urged on these measures, any relaxation of which her rulers deprecated as disastrous to the nation, though at the same time prefacing their cruel demands with the statement that gentler measures are *more expedient* and specious hopes that they may be successful.

Our view is supported by the statements of the governors, who speak of the indiscreet zeal and harshness of the ecclesiastics, which require to be moderated, though the enactments proposed by the former are, we should have thought, strict enough to satisfy the most ardent of persecutors.

We have given only a condensed summary of some of these official papers but enough to prove that the Church and not the State is primarily responsible for those inhuman laws, although by a refined hypocrisy the latter was 'requested to carry out the penalties without consultation with the bishops in order to avoid Religion incurring odium thereby': and they were to be applicable to the entire nation, to Catholics as well as Calvinists, 'so as to avoid the imputation of Persecution of the latter only.'

We have personally investigated at the French War Office recently all the Reports from which these notes have been taken, and answer for their correctness ; those wishing to know more can consult the works we have referred to, and also the voluminous documents in the *Archives Nationales* indexed under the head of 'État sommaire par série des documents . . . Affaires générales des Religionnaires.' Here are State papers (giving names and cases) relating to the administration of the property of fugitives, their revenues, their expulsion, abduction of their children, destruction of their churches, punishments for clandestine services in private houses of the nobility, persecution of pastors, confiscation of property, denunciation of Huguenots, separation of husbands, wives and children, illegality of marriage and consequent bastardy of offspring, large reward of 5000 livres for capture of two pastors, prosecution of the 'Memory of the Dead,' parents and children abducted and never to meet, mixed marriages forbidden, Christian burial denied to those dying without confession, their bodies to be disinterred, dragged on hurdles, and prosecuted, &c.

Apologists for the Revocation Edicts ever excuse them as being the result of political rebelliousness by the Huguenots and to their seeking protection and intervention from other nations, but the excuse—not based on truth—comes ill from Rome. Since the time temporal power was claimed by Gregory VII, she obtained outside aid to crush her own subjects and those of surrounding districts who rejected that sway, and this continued at intervals from 1073 till the withdrawal of French bayonets shattered her temporal monarchy.

Whatever political weight the Huguenots possessed was crushed by Richelieu and Mazarin, and no rising took place under Louis XIV till 1702, after forty years' persecution of which Rulhière says :

'Let us not forget that their temples had been demolished, their lands given up to a licentious soldiery, their children stolen, the houses of the *obstinate* levelled with the ground, after the infliction of all the tortures that the spirit of evil could suggest. Then arose

a circumstance which raised the spirit of revolt when all seemed submissive.

'A "Superior of Missions" (Father Du Chayla) caused the mountaineer's children to be kidnapped to his house till transferred to religious Institutions—The Protestants attack the house, save their children and murder the resisting Priest'—(*Eclaircissements historiques* [1])—Civil war followed.

Throughout the reign of Louis XIV the persecution was in the name of *religion* only, openly and avowedly, without any suggestion that the victims were plotting against the State. Long before this Mazarin said 'I have no complaint against the little flock; even if they feed on bad pasture they do not go astray.' Catherine de Medici had already allowed 'I can do anything I like with them by satiating them with their Preachings.' Louis XIV testified to their fidelity in his letter to the Elector of Brandenburg, September 6, 1666, and on other occasions such as his declaration of May 22, 1652, and his edict of July 1679; in none of his revocationary edicts did he ever impugn their loyalty, neither could his zealous intendants or confessors or Mlle. de Maintenon; the *Mémoires du Clergé* 1771 and *Mémoires des Evêques* 1698 contain no such accusations.

But the memorials and consultations we have treated of produced no ecclesiastical unanimity; heated controversies continued till extinguished by the Edict of Toleration of 1787 (extorted in spite of the clergy), and by the cataclysm of infidelity and bloodshed five years later. Both were the natural reactionary results of that clerical intolerance which forced on the Revocation 'Terror'; which wielded unfettered, irresponsible tyranny from 1661 to 1787; which by the horrors

[1] In the paper on Fénelon which I had the honour of reading to you last year Rulhière is also named. He was a Catholic diplomatist, historian, poet, and friend of Montesquieu, Richelieu, Breteuil, Necker, and Rousseau, and wrote his *Eclaircissements Historiques* to exculpate Louis XIV from personal responsibility for the Revocation, attributing it to Mademoiselle de Maintenon, Père La Chaise, Louvois and their party.

He makes no apology for the Huguenots, though he does for their persecutors; yet undesignedly puts forward strong evidence in favour of the victims from the very excuses he makes for their oppressors.

it authorised habituated France to continue cruelties inaugurated by her own ecclesiastics, and drove her into another 'Terror' which quickly claimed *them* as first victims of their own teaching and example.

APPENDIX.

The following Notes relating to this subject are of interest and are taken from an article by F. Puaux in the *Revue Historique*, vol. xxix, for 1885, entitled 'On the Responsibility for the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.'

P. 242, footnote 2.—'On the 14th of July, 1685, on a very solemn occasion D. de Cosnac, Bishop of Valence, speaking in the name of the clergy, unreservedly praised the Catholic policy of Louis XIV. He wished, said he, to conquer new provinces, to re-establish the prelates there, and the worship and the altars. That Holland and Germany had only served as the theatre for his victories, to make the triumph of Jesus Christ. That England being on the verge of offering him one of the most glorious opportunities that he could desire, he would not fail soon to give a protection to her worthy of the King of Great Britain in the necessity in which he found himself, requiring the help and assistance of an armed force to maintain herself in the Catholic Faith.' [1]

P.245.—'Catholic historians have applauded the Revocation which caused the triumph of the principle of Religious Unity; a necessary condition of truth which cannot tolerate error. They cleverly relieve the Church from this responsibility to give the whole glory to Louis XIV. "The most severe rectitude has nothing to reproach in Louis XIV," says Henrion, "when without violating any legitimate or real agreement, he effected for the religion of his forefathers what heretic Powers had ventured to do for its extinction." [2] This is the same historian who calls the dragonnades "military hospitality." More recently Coquille says "Louis XIV once more took possession of the Law in France"; [3] Capefigue also writes "Louvois' great title to glory was the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which was the salvation of France."' [4]

[1] L'Abbé La Roque, *Mémoires de l'Église*, p. 356.
[2] Henrion, *Histoire Générale de l'Église*, LIV, xxx, 292.
[3] *Le Monde*, February 19, 1861.
[4] Capefigue, *Les Fermiers généraux*, p. 88 (1855).

Pp. 274–5.—'Thus the clergy assumed a responsibility for the employment of violence to convert the Reformers and dragged the State into that course of compulsion which was to obtain for it such sad triumph. During the years which followed and preceded the Revocation the grand persuasive effort of which Monsignor d'Hulst writes consisted in defending the doctrine of "compelling them to come in"; a task which priests, monks, and theologians carried out with extreme ardour. When on the 21st of July, 1685, the "Coadjutor" of Rouen read to Louis XIV in the name of the Assembly of the Clergy of France a discourse in which he ventured to deny the persecution, he acknowledged nevertheless that the Clergy were ready to share the responsibility of violent acts, if they took place. These words are too characteristic not to be quoted. After having recalled that the "Heretics would probably never have re-entered the bosom of the Church by any other road but that strewed with flowers which had been opened to them," he adds, "whatever was the interest which the Clergy took in the extinction of Heresy their joy would hardly surpass their grief if, in order to conquer this Hydra, a regrettable necessity had forced the zeal of his Majesty to have recourse to the sword and fire which had to be done in the preceding reigns, that the Clergy would take its part in a war which would be holy and might look upon it with aversion only because it would be a sanguinary war." A month after, dragooning spread itself throughout the South of France, and thence was carried out through the whole nation, and we well know what share the clergy took in proceedings which they considered holy. Moreover the doctrine of constraint was acknowledged publicly at the Sorbonne where Abbé Robert in his panegyric on Louis XIV, after having said that his royal predecessors had employed sword and fire to destroy the heresy of their day, acknowledged that his Majesty without employing these lawful means had still crushed heresy by his gentleness and wisdom.[1] Once more the end justified the means and the Church sanctified the use of Might to overcome Right.[2]

'The direction of religious matters during the reign of Louis XIV sprang above all from the famous Council of Conscience which met

[1] *Journal des Sçavans*, December 10, 1685.

[2] The approval by Bossuet of this doctrine was unhesitating: 'I am now and have always been of the opinion: 1. That princes can compel all heretics by penal laws to conform to the profession and practices of the Catholic Church; 2. That this Doctrine must be considered permanent in the Church, which is not only followed but has demanded these decrees from sovereigns.' (Bossuet, *Œuvr. compl.* lii, p. 234.)

on Saturdays, was presided over by the King, aided by the Archbishop of Paris and Père La Chaise.[1] Spanheim by his long acquaintance with Versailles knew full well the spirit which ruled there, and does not hesitate to say that at these Councils were debated all the projects relating to the Reformed Faith; prepared by the formal requests of the clergy, presented by the clerical agents, upheld by the Jesuit La Chaise and the Archbishop, these plans rapidly transformed themselves into Decrees and Declarations.[2] By temperament, by taste, by narrow-minded devotion Louis XIV attached the highest importance to religious matters, and discussions afforded but little difficulty to a monarch who showed such zeal to satisfy the wishes of the clergy who never for one moment doubted of being victorious.'[3]

[1] 'On Sunday the 15th the Archbishop of Paris reported that the King had stated in the presence of Père La Chaise that after the Assembly had concluded business it should take two or three days to investigate the means it would think most suitable to be employed to confirm the New Converted in the Faith, and to compel thoroughly those of the Pretended Religion who were hesitating to abjure heresy.' (*Procès-Verbaux*, 1685.)

[2] Spanheim, *Relation de la cour en France.*

[3] Cosnac, Bishop of Valence, said this quite bluntly: 'We are sure to succeed in our humble prayers; it is a matter of divine and human faith that they will be granted. We ask for nothing except in the name and for the glory of the Lord, and we ask for it from a sovereign who can do all He wills and above all desires the re-establishment of the Reign of Jesus Christ.' (*Procès-Verbaux*, 1685, vol. v, p. 586.)

The Family of Riou.

By P. H. DITCHFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

This is the first time that I have the honour of addressing your famous Huguenot Society, and I regard it as a peculiar pleasure to meet the descendants of the race who have conferred upon England many lasting benefits. I fear that I myself can claim no consanguinity with the Huguenots, though I can claim affinity, as the Roget family are connected with mine by marriage, and therefore I do not feel myself to be quite a stranger among you. I was much interested to read that interesting memoir by Mr. Samuel Roget, your member, of his father Mr. John Lewis Roget, who married my father's cousin Frances Ditchfield. A very interesting family treasure is the wonderful *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases* originally written by Dr. Roget, F.R.S., published in 1852. Numerous other editions have been issued, several revised and edited by his son John Lewis Roget, and now another—his son Samuel's—name appears as Editor on the title page. It is a happy circumstance that the book should be thus edited by three generations of one family, and still maintain its popularity.

Last year I was engaged in writing for private circulation a short history of the Dawson family of Yorkshire, Berkshire, and America, based principally upon letters and documents in a family deed-chest. As it often happens in investigating the story of the descent of one family, all kinds of interesting by-paths offer themselves for exploration, and one meets with charming acquaintances by the way who converse and reveal to you many curious facts of personal experience. Thus the Dawson family, I discovered, was connected with the royal line of the kings of England, and can claim descent from

King Edward III, whose son Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence, married Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter of William de Burgh, Earl of Ulster. The descent passes through the Mortimers, the Percys of Northumberland, including the famous gallant Hotspur, the hero of the bards who chanted in many a hall the ballads of the 'Battle of Otterburn' and 'Chevy Chase,' and sang to their harps

> 'Then Percy one of Bamburgh
> With him a mighty many,
> With fifteen thousand archers bold
> They were chosen out of shires three.'

And then the Dawson descent passes on through the Cliffords, the Lowthers, until William Dawson of Heworth, Farlington, and North Ferriby, in 1684 married Agnes Lowther and thus brought the family into connexion with the Royal Family of England in the person of King Edward III and his Queen Philippa, daughter of William, Count of Hainault.

That was one connexion of the Dawson family which is not without interest. In fact at each step of the descent we find names and places that are associated with some scene or event in the story of England. Another important connexion with which we are immediately concerned is the marriage of Dorothy, daughter of George Dawson, with Colonel Stephen Riou of the Guards, a descendant of a distinguished Huguenot family who settled in England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The original spelling of the name was *de Rieulx*, which is, I believe, a place-name in Languedoc—where doubtless they had their château. The Rious certainly came from that province of France and were among that large number of families who, deprived of all liberty of conscience in their own country, by the arbitrary decree of a tyrannous and autocratic monarch, Louis XIV, sought safety and protection and freedom for the exercise of their religion on English soil.

Doubtless the annals of your families can tell of many harrowing stories of persecution and violence. It would be well to collect them and publish them, if they have not

yet appeared in your *Proceedings*. Your ancestors were despoiled of their civil rights; your clergy forbidden to minister to their flocks; your fathers knew what it was to be driven at the pike's point to hear mass, and the horrors of the dragonnades, when rude soldiers were quartered in your ancestral châteaux and there instituted a reign of terror. They consumed what they pleased, pillaged, seized, destroyed and abused without restraint, and, not content with spoliations, tortured your people in a thousand ways without distinction of age or sex. Your ancestors were thrown into dungeons, hunted down like wild beasts, gibbeted or sent to the galleys or slain with the sword. They were forbidden to seek safety in flight. The guards on the frontiers were doubled, peasants were ordered to attack the fugitives, and no one was allowed to pass the barriers without a licence.

Such intolerable oppression was entirely unprovoked. Your ancestors had served Louis both loyally and well. Some of the most splendid of his victories had been won by Huguenot generals, and at the very time of the revocation of the Edict a Huguenot naval commander was carrying the thunders of his navy into the ports of Spain. As subjects your ancestors were more loyal and obedient than the Roman Catholics; as citizens, more estimable and virtuous; as mechanics, more skilful and industrious.

But in spite of all the precautions of the King and of his all-powerful minister Louvois, in spite of guards and soldiers, many did escape—80,000 altogether, and of these 50,000 found a welcome in our English isle, which has always been a refuge for the oppressed and persecuted; and England gained enormously thereby. Your ancestors brought their swords with them, and their skill in using them, and fought in our army and navy at a time when England sorely needed the help of brave men. Your ancestors brought the secrets of their craft and skill and enabled England to rival France in those manufactures for which she had before been eminent. And foremost among the gallant fighters who came to England were the family of the Rious. Colonel Stephen Riou, who married Dorothy Dawson, obtained a commission in the

Guards from George II, and served with distinction as a volunteer in Holland, and of other gallant members of the family I will speak presently.

Dorothy's father, Captain George Dawson, was also a brave soldier. He owned the North Ferriby estate in Yorkshire and came of a good family. His father, William Dawson, married Agnes Lowther, daughter of Sir William Lowther of Swillington, knight, an ancestor of the present Earl Lowther; and, perhaps carried away by his connexion with one of the most powerful northern families, which traced its pedigree back to the royal line of English kings, William Dawson lived in 'the grand style' of a large-landed proprietor, and with him began the impoverishment of the estates which ended in disaster. George, Dorothy Riou's father, was often engaged on his military duties, and perhaps could do little to retrench. He had a large family of eight children, of whom Roper was the eldest and Dorothy the second child.

As you are aware, in the eighteenth century European politics were very complicated. In 1739 the English were clamouring for a war with Spain and France, and abused Walpole for striving to keep peace. Ballad-singers trolled out rhymes to the crowd, calling Walpole 'the cur-dog of Britain and the spaniel of Spain.' In 1739 war was proclaimed. 'They may ring their bells now,' Walpole said, when the peals and bonfires welcomed the war, 'but they will soon be wringing their hands'; and the house of Dawson had cause to share in the national grief when Admiral Vernon was defeated in the fatal battle of Cartagena in 1741, and George Dawson was amongst the slain.

As though conscious of his approaching fate, on the night before the battle he wrote to his son, Roper, a very touching letter, urging him to stay in America, whither Roper had gone, and in the new lands to restore the fortunes of his family. He was oppressed not only at the thought of what might be his fate on the morrow, but also by the knowledge that, owing to the extravagance of himself and his ancestors, his children in the case of his death would be ill provided for. This letter has been preserved among the family archives, and is, I think,

one of the most touching letters a father could write under such sad circumstances. It concludes:

'If this comes to your hand it will be the last time you will hear from me, so keep it by you and remember my last charge, and let no person lead you astray. But my dear, dear child, prove a father to the fatherless, your mama, brothers and sisters. God Almighty bless you, and send you happy in this life, and that to come, my dear son. Adieu.

'Your sister Nancy is out at business, and, with the assistance of her friends, I hope will do well, and assist to help her younger sisters: how joyful should I be to see you set up, and your poor sister Dolly your housekeeper. Adieu.'

Sister Dolly, mentioned in this letter, who married Colonel Riou, was possibly with Roper in America, but she must have returned soon for her wedding. Colonel Riou did not obtain any large dower with her, as the affairs of her family were in a hopeless mess, and it needed a special private Act of Parliament to set them right. 'Poor Sister Dolly,' when she became the bride of the Huguenot colonel, must have been very poor, and we trust that he had money enough for both. Three children were born of this marriage—Philip Riou, Edward Riou, and a daughter who was named after her mother Dorothy; and all were connected with the services. Philip was a colonel in the artillery, Edward a captain in the navy, and Dorothy, not being a militant suffragette or able to fight in the army, did the next best thing—she married in 1800 a soldier, Lieutenant-Colonel Lyde Browne of the 21st Fusiliers.

It is of Edward Riou that I especially desire to speak this evening. It is a name that should be highly honoured by the Huguenot Society. His monument is in St. Paul's Cathedral amongst those of many other brave soldiers and sailors who have fought for England; and Admiral Lord Nelson in his dispatch after the battle of Copenhagen honoured Edward Riou with the well-merited title 'the gallant and the good.' He was born in 1762, and at an early age entered the Royal Navy. His life has never been written and it would make an interesting volume. The late Mr. Benson, a member of your Society, a descendant of the gentleman who married

CAPTAIN EDWARD RIOU, R. N.
(From the painting in the possession of W. G. Richards, Esq.)

the daughter of Edward Riou's sister, prepared some notes for a life of the hero. His log-book and the flag of his ship are in existence and are preserved among the archives of the family. I hoped to have been able to produce them this evening, and have for some time been in communication with the widow of Mr. Benson about them ; but in this I have been disappointed. Last month I received a letter from this lady (who has only recently lost her husband), who informs me that all these treasures are stored at their family seat, Lutwyche, and as the house is let on a term of years they cannot be procured. The accompanying portrait of Edward Riou is reproduced by the kind permission of your fellow, Mr. W. G. Richards, a descendant of the family and the owner of the original painting.

Family papers assert that Edward Riou as a midshipman circumnavigated the globe in Captain James Cook's voyage, but as Captain Cook sailed in his last voyage in 1776 and was slain in 1779, if Riou accompanied him he must have been only fourteen years of age. Possibly a study of Cook's *Voyages* would give information upon this point, and I have not had an opportunity of referring to those volumes. However, Riou's monument in St. Paul's Cathedral informs me that ten years after Cook's death he was in charge as lieutenant of a ship called the *Guardian*, which was employed on an exploration expedition. In the weary month of December 1789 his ship struck an iceberg and was in considerable danger. The recent loss of the *Titanic* shows that the same perils which beset Riou and his craft the *Guardian* still haunt the path of those who 'go down to the sea in ships and occupy their business in great waters.' When the collision occurred Riou encouraged his sailors to take to the boats, but refused to leave his vessel, and after ten weeks of the most perilous navigation he succeeded in bringing his disabled ship into port, a triumph of courage, perseverance, and fortitude.

The following account of the shipwreck is given in Dr. Smiles's *The Huguenots in France* :

'H.M.S. *Guardian*, commanded by Captain Edward Riou, sailed from the Cape of Good Hope for Port Jackson, N.S.W., in

the early spring of 1789. Spring at the Cape must have been in the writer's mind, as, on some date in December, 1789, not particularised, the *Guardian*, while enveloped in fog, struck an iceberg and became a total wreck. After labouring at the pumps for some 48 hours, the crew insisted on the boats being launched, and about half of the ship's complement put off; but Captain Riou refused to leave. The only boat that reached land held the master, to whom Riou had confided a dispatch addressed to the Admiralty reporting the loss of his ship. The dispatch was duly delivered; all hope of Riou and his companions was abandoned, and Riou's family went into mourning.

'The *Guardian*, however, was found by some Dutch whaling vessels, and was towed into Table Bay, where she arrived on the 22nd February, 1790. Captain Riou's gallantry was warmly acknowledged and well rewarded.'

A complete account of Edward Riou's naval career is not yet available; but a few years later we find him serving under Lord Nelson, who was much attached to him, and who always won the affection and confidence of all those who served under him. Never was any commander more beloved than Nelson. He governed men by reason and their affections. They knew that he was incapable of caprice or tyranny, and they obeyed him with alacrity and joy, because he possessed their confidence as well as their love. Captain Riou was devoted to Nelson.

In 1801 there was a powerful coalition against England—Russia, Sweden, and Denmark were combining under the influence of France and Spain. It was a formidable combination—not the only formidable combination which England has had to face in the course of her history. May her sons in this age prove themselves as brave and skilled in arms as their sires have been in the days when Nelson fought the French and Wellington won at Waterloo. Against this combination of foreign fleets—23 Danish ships of the line, 18 Swedish vessels besides a vast number of frigates, sloops, gunboats, and other craft, 82 Russian ships and 40 frigates—the English navy set sail. Unfortunately Nelson was not in command, Admiral Sir Hyde Parker having been entrusted with the control of the fleet. Captain Riou had the command of the *Amazon*, and the ships of war assembled at Yarmouth in

March 1801, where Nelson joined the fleet. A remarkable incident occurred before the sailing of the ships. The objective of the expedition, of course, was kept secret, but it was sufficiently known that its destination was Denmark. On board Riou's ship were some Danish sailors. They came to him and told him that they had heard that the navy was going to fight against Denmark, their native land. They begged that he would get them exchanged into a ship bound for some other destination. 'They had no wish to quit the British service,' they said, 'but they entreated that they might not be forced to fight against their own country.' Southey, in his *Life of Nelson*, says :

> 'There was not in our whole navy a man who had a higher and more chivalrous sense of duty than Riou. Tears came into his eyes while the men were speaking; without making any reply, he instantly ordered his boat, and did not return to the *Amazon* till he could tell them that their wish was effected.

Then the expedition sailed for Denmark—with what fortune the world knows. I need not describe to you the battle of the Baltic, celebrated in story and in song, one of the grandest achievements in the history of the British Navy, when the genius of Nelson triumphed over the dilatory tactics of the commander, Sir Hyde Parker. It was in that battle, you will remember, ladies and gentlemen, that Nelson made such excellent use of his blind eye. Admiral Hyde Parker in the midst of the contest signalled 'No 39.' 'What does that mean?' asked an officer. 'Why, to leave off action,' replied Nelson; then, shrugging up his shoulders, he repeated—'Leave off action? Now damn me if I do. You know I have only one eye,' he said to his friend Foley; 'I have a right to be blind sometimes'; and then, putting the glass to his blind eye, in that mood of mind that sports with bitterness, he exclaimed 'I do not really see the signal! Keep mine for closer battle flying. That's the way I answer such signals. Nail mine to the mast.'

Amongst the ships that were fighting all they knew was the gallant *Amazon*, under the command of Riou. It had

suffered terribly. You will remember the amazing difficulties of the situation—how the pilots failed to get their ships into action, how baffling currents prevented others from coming up. Riou with his frigates took up a station against the Crown Battery, attempting with such slender force a service in which three ships of the line had been directed to assist. It was almost an impossible task, and the ships had suffered severely in the unequal contest. The *Amazon* was enveloped in smoke and had for a long time been firing at the enemy, when Riou ordered his men to stand fast and let the smoke clear off, in order that they might see what they were about. A fatal order it proved, for the Danes got clear sight of the ship from the batteries and pointed their guns upon her with tremendous effect. The clearing of the smoke enabled Riou to see the commander's signal for retreat, his vessel being near that of the Admiral's. He very unwillingly obeyed the signal, exclaiming: 'What will Nelson think of us?'; but his retreat probably saved the frigate. He had been wounded in the head by a splinter, and was sitting on a gun, encouraging his men, when just as the *Amazon* showed her stern to the Treckroner battery his clerk was killed by his side, and another shot swept away several marines who were hauling in the main-brace.

'Come, then, my boys, let us die together,' cried Riou. The words had scarcely been uttered before a raking shot cut him in two. Robert Southey adds the fine tribute to his memory: 'Except it had been Nelson himself, the British navy could not have suffered a severer loss.'

As I have said, in his dispatches Lord Nelson mourned the death of the hero, justly styling him 'the gallant and the good,' and the poem of Thomas Campbell on the battle of the Baltic is doubtless familiar to you, containing a tribute to his memory. Suffer me to quote some of the lines:

Of Nelson and the North
Sing the glorious day's renown,
When to battle fierce came forth
All the might of Denmark's crown,

And her arms along the deep proudly shone;
By each gun the lighted brand
In a bold determined hand,
And the Prince of all the land
Led them on.

Like leviathans afloat
Lay their bulwarks on the brine;
While the sign of battle flew
On the lofty British line:
It was ten of April morn by the chime:
As they drifted on their path
There was silence deep as death;
And the boldest held his breath
For a time.

Now joy, old England, raise!
For the tidings of thy might,
By the festal cities' blaze.
While the wine-cup shines in light;
And yet amidst that joy and uproar,
Let us think of them that sleep,
Full many a fathom deep,
By thy wild and stormy steep,
Elsinore!

Brave hearts! to Britain's pride
Once so faithful and so true,
On the deck of fame that died
With the gallant good Riou:
Soft sigh the winds of Heaven o'er their grave
While the billow mournful rolls
And the mermaid's song condoles,
Singing glory to the souls
Of the brave!

We will now go to St. Paul's Cathedral and read the inscription on his monument, which records also the memory of a brother officer, James Robert Mosse.

Here is the inscription:—

The services and Death | of two valiant and distinguished

officers | James Robert Mosse, Captain of the Monarch | and Edward Riou of the Amazon | who fell in the attack upon Copenhagen | conducted by Lord Nelson 2 April, 1801 | and commemorated by this Monument | erected at the national expense

JAMES ROBERT MOSSE

was born in 1746 | he served as Lieutenant | several years under Lord Howe | and was promoted to the Rank of Post Captain in 1790

TO EDWARD RIOU

who was born in 1762 | an extraordinary occasion was presented | in the early part of his service | of signalising his intrepidity | and presence of mind | which were combined with the most anxious | solicitude for the lives of those under his command | and a magnanimous disregard of his own | When his ship the *Guardian* struck upon | an Island of Ice in Dec. 1789 and afforded no prospect | but that of immediate destruction to those on board | Lieut. Riou encouraged all who desired to take the chance | of preserving themselves in the boats, to consult their safety; but judging it contrary to his duty | to desert the vessel | he neither gave himself up to despair | nor relaxed his exertions:—whereby after ten weeks of most perilous navigation | he succeeded in bringing his disabled ship into Port | receiving the high reward | of fortitude and perseverance | from the Divine Providence | on whose protection he relied.

And so we leave our wreath on the hero's monument, and honour the memory of a true Huguenot Englishman.

Of his brother Philip we have little to record save that he too followed the profession of arms, served under Lord Heathfield at Gibraltar, and died Senior Colonel of Artillery in 1817. As regards their sister Dorothy, who married Colonel Lyde Browne of the 21st Fusiliers, she was a remarkable lady. She lived until her ninety-first year, dying in 1855, and had continually to suffer the loss in the service of the country of those most dear to her. Her maternal grandfather, Major George Dawson's, death at Cartagena I have mentioned, and to her brother's memory we have just paid our tribute, and her husband, Colonel Lyde Browne, a gallant gentleman, lost his life with Lord Kilwarden on the fatal night of Emmet's insurrection in the streets of Dublin, July 23, 1803.

So the lady who lived to such a good old age had more than half a century of widowhood.

Colonel and Mrs. Lyde Browne had an only daughter, who was christened Charlotte Riou, and was the sole representative of the ancient stock of the Riou family. She married Squire Benson of Lutwyche Hall in the county of Salop, where her mother resided with her, and there died. Lutwyche Hall is a charming old red-brick Elizabethan house, built in the year 1583, and is still the seat of the Benson family. It is there that the log-book and flag of Edward Riou are stored, and I have been almost tempted to try burglariously to enter that locked room in order to produce these treasures for your inspection this evening. It is pleasant to reflect that the English family of Benson of Lutwyche are very proud of their connexion with these brave-hearted Rious, and always preserve that name as one of the Christian names of the representatives of the family in each generation. (The second son of the late Mr. Benson is called, I believe, Stephen Riou Benson.)

Such, ladies and gentlemen, are the records which I have been able to collect of an interesting family, and I trust that you have found them not unworthy of your notice. It is well that the members of the Huguenot Society should treasure the memories of their sires. In the present age too little respect is often paid to the memory of our ancestors, to those who have done their duty in their generations and laid the foundations of the prosperity of their children and descendants. We receive without thankfulness inheritances bequeathed to us, without a thought of gratitude to those who have gone before and laboured that we should enjoy. This spirit is often the result of mere carelessness and thoughtlessness, of ignorance and idleness, and it is against such a spirit that your Society makes loud and continued protest. It is not easy always to get to know people, their characters, their dispositions. It is far more difficult to discover the characters, biographies and achievements of those who have been long dead. We see their portraits on our walls, and yet too often even their names are forgotten. Amongst old family papers we find old letters, wills, deeds, and documents, but few care

to decipher them. Many an old letter reveals the character of an ancestor, the playful humour of an old squire, his implicit trust in Providence, his difficulties and burdens, his anxieties, his joys and sorrows. All these should be preserved, and I trust that these few remarks about the Rious, a family that has not lacked distinction, will not be unacceptable to a Society like that of the Huguenots, who honour the memory of their sires and the honourable and glorious traditions of their race.

APPENDIX

A Genealogical Memoir of the Family of Rieu

[A branch of the Riou or Rieu family, whose original home was at Privas en Vivarey, settled at Geneva after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and several members attained to eminence. Monsieur Jean-Louis Rieu became the first syndic of Geneva and wrote a valuable autobiography, which was published in Geneva in 1870.[1] He also left behind him a MS. history of his family which is an admirably worked out genealogical study. This was designed apparently to form an introduction to the autobiography, and its omission from the printed work is noted in his preface by the editor, M. Charles Rieu. The close connexion between this family and the Rious who settled in England is not very clearly substantiated, but the two branches sprung, doubtless, from the same stock, and the records of the Geneva Rieus are well worthy of preservation. The representative of the family in England is Mrs. Agnes Rieu, who has kindly sent the following genealogical particulars to supplement the history of the family as contained in Jean-Louis Rieu's memoir, which we here print.

Charles-Pierre-Henry Rieu, son of Jean-Louis Rieu, spent the greater part of his life in this country, working from 1847 to 1895 at the British Museum, where he became Keeper of the Oriental Manuscripts, and afterwards at Cambridge, where he was elected to fill the chair of the Sir Thomas Adams's Professorship in Arabic. Born at Geneva in 1820; married (1871) Agnes Hisgen, daughter of Julius Heinrich Hisgen, Professor at the University of Utrecht, Holland; died in London 1902, having issue:

[1] *Mémoires de Jean-Louis Rieu, ancien premier Syndic de Genève.* Genève et Bâle, 1870.

1. Jean-Louis: born 1872; entered the Indian Civil Service in 1893; married in Karachi, 1899, Ida Augusta Edwards of County Wicklow, Ireland; has issue:—
   Myra Julie, born 1873.
2. Julie: born 1873.
3. Charles: born 1875; artist; married in Paris, 1910, Henriette Derrett.
4. Henri: born 1877; took the Modern Language Tripos at Cambridge University in 1900.
5. Alfred: born 1879; graduated at Cambridge University, 1901; married in Paris, 1906, Josephine Leontine Boussu; has issue:—
   Etienne-Alfred, born 1908.
   Agnès-Claire, born 1909.
6. Agnès-Marie: born 1884; married in London, 1906, Charles Rote Hills, solicitor; has issue:—
   Gilbert-Archibald-Rieu, born 1907.
   Audrey-Rieu, born 1908.
   Oliver-Lilburne-Rieu, born 1911.
7. Emile-Victor: born 1887; scholar of Balliol College, Oxford.

P. H. D.]

'Je commence par quelques détails généalogiques. Ma famille paternelle a fait peu de bruit à Genève où je suis seul, avec mes fils, de mon nom. Les Rieu ne sont établis à Genève que depuis un peu plus d'un siècle et demi, et leur caractère naturel ou les circonstances ne leur ont fait jouer dans la République que des rôles nuls ou fort modestes; je serai donc plus long sur le compte de cette famille que sur celui de ma famille maternelle *Turrettini* qui a fourni assez de membres à la science et à la magistrature pour être connue sans que je m'en mêle.

'Je dois à la vérité de dire dès l'abord que ma science généalogique a été puisée dans quelques papiers de famille, pour la moindre partie, et, pour la plus grande, dans les notices généalogiques de M. Galiffe que je rends responsable de mes bévues.

'*Les Turrettini* sont originaires de la République de Lucques. La branche de laquelle je descends par ma mère se rattache à:

'*Jean Turrettini* qui obtint en 1631 l'inféodation des terres siegneuriales au mandement de Peney sous le nom de *Turrettin*. Il épousa une Melle Burlamachi, dont il eut:

'*Michel Turrettini* pasteur et professeur de langues orientales, qui épousa une demoiselle Girard des Bergeries, dont il eut:

'*Samuel Turrettini* pasteur et professeur en théologie, qui épousa une demoiselle Saladin-Andrion grande-tante de demoiselle Saladin de Lubières, laquelle fut mariée à Antoine Saladin de Crans et devint grand'mère, par conséquent des Saladin actuels mes cousins, comme on le verra du reste au sujet des Calandrini. Il eut pour fils :

'*Antoine Turrettini* qui épousa Renée Saladin, sœur de M. Antoine Saladin de Crans mentionné ci-dessus. C'est mon grand-père maternel.

'On voit que ma parenté avec les Saladin dérive du mariage de cet aïeul ; ma grand'mère maternelle étant la grande-tante de Saladin Cazenove et de ses trois sœurs. La parenté découle aussi dans un degré plus éloigné de la femme de Samuel Turrettini comme on le voit ci-dessus et d'une alliance Calandrini comme on le verra. La multiplicité des liens de famille ne multiplie pas toujours l'intimité c'est la morale de la fable.

'*La famille Rieu* est originaire de Privas en Vivarey. Mon arrière grandpère *Jean Louis Rieu* vint à Genève à la révocation de l'édit de Nantes, c'est à dire, non loin de 1686 ; comme à la même date, il n'est point question à Genève de son père, mais bien de son oncle *Alexandre Rieu*, il est à présumer qu'il arriva orphelin et mineur, sous la tutelle de cet oncle qui était négoçiant. Mon bisaïeul Rieu avait un frère qui s'établit à Paris en qualité de banquier. Il était l'ainé et se nommait *Jean Rieu*. Ce frère eut, comme mon bisaïeul, un moment de grande fortune suivi d'un complet revers, car il acheta en 1720 la baronie de Prangins qu'il fut obligé de revendre peu d'années après à Monsieur Giguer.

'L'oncle de mon bisaïeul, Alexandre Rieu, se maria à Genève en 1693 a Jeanne Baile de Montélimar ; il acheta la Bourgeoisie en 1699 et mourut sans enfants en 1720.

'Mon bisaïeul en hérita probablement et lui succéda dans son commerce. Quoiqu'il en soit, Jean Louis Rieu s'était marié en 1702 à Judith Gervais, dont il avait eu deux enfants morts en bas âge. Il avait acheté la bourgeoisie de Genève en 1708 pour le prix de sept mille florins. Devenu veuf il alla s'établir à Paris auprès de son frère à une date que j'ignore, mais qui coincidait probablement avec l'époque ou florissait le système de Law, c'est à dire, aux environs de 1718. Ce fut dans les spéculations de ce système qu'il fit avec son frère le banquier des bénéfices considérables. Ce fut aussi alors qu'il demanda la main de mademoiselle Calandrini de

Pellissari, dont les parents habitaient Paris depuis 1710 ; le mariage eut lieu en 1720.

'Mon bisaïeul Calandrini de Pellissari avait aussi une belle fortune à cette époque ; il possédait à Genève la maison que j'habite augmentée de tout l'emplacement de la grande maison Saladin. Cet emplacement fut revendu par lui lorsque la fortune lui tourna le dos à M. Antoine Saladin qui rebâtit à neuf la portion vendue. Mon bisaïeul avait outre celà un domaine à Chouilly. Ce domaine, échu per succession à mon père qui n'avait pas les moyens de l'entretenir, a été revendu par lui a M. Grenus Saladin, dont le fils le possède aujourd'hui.

'Je puis cousiner par les Calandrini avec quelques familles patriciennes de Genève, sans en tirer aucune vaine gloire. Cela m'engage à joindre ci-après un aperçu de ces parentés venant des Calandrini et des Pellissari, à dater de mes bisaïeux seulement. Mon bisaïeul Calandrini eut huit sœurs toutes mariées, savoir :—

'1. *Susane* qui épousa J. J. Pictet Syndic : aboutit par alliance masculine à M. Pictet Saraban et à M. Pictet de Sergy, par alliance féminine à Mme. de Virvaux par la branche Gallatin Pictet.

'2. *Cathérine*, mariée à Michel Lullin, sans postérité.

'3. *Dorothée*, mariée à Jacques Favre, Syndic : aboutit par alliance féminine avec un Rilliet-Diodati, à Elisée Rilliet de Russin et à ses sœurs (parents aussi de ma femme par leur grand-père Rillet de Chapeaurouge) d'une part, et d'autre part à Mademoiselle Gautier de Tournes, fille de M. de Tournes-Rilliet.

'4. *Elisabeth* mariée à noble Jacques Michéli, Sr. du Crest, capitaine du service de France aboutit aux Michéli-Perdriau et Michéli-Labat.

'5. *Louise* mariée à Marc Dupan, Syndic : aboutit à feu Me. Mallet Dupan femme divorcée de l'historien du Danemarck.

'6. *Marie Anne* mariée à noble Jean Favre, sans postérité.

'7. *Françoise* mariée à Ami Perdriau : aboutit à feu Madame Allut-Perdriau et sa sœur Dolly Perdriau, ainsi qu'à Madame Michéli-Perdriau.

'8. *Marie* mariée à François de Langes de Lubières gouverneur de la principauté de Neuchâtel, depuis bourgeois de Genève : leur fille unique Louise épousa un M. Saladin-Buisson ; de ce mariage naquit une fille, Marie Charlotte Saladin de Lubières qui épousa M. Antoine Saladin de Crans, grand-père de M. Saladin-Cazenove et de ses trois sœurs.

'Mad. Calandrini de Pellissari était fille de George de Pellissari de Chiavennes, Sr. de la Bourdaiserie, trésorier général de la marine, des galères et des fortifications des places maritimes de France; sa mère était fille de M. de Ribaud, de la Rochelle, directeur général de la compagnie des Indes occidentales. Elle eut :—

'1, un frère Barthélemy marié à une demoiselle Burlamachi Le Port, dont il eut une fille mariée à M. de Chaudieu, noble du baillage de Morges, et un fils marié à la fille du comte de Portes de Budé. Ce mariage aboutit par alliances féminines, à M. Rolaz de Rosey d'une part, et à feu M. le Syndic Fatio d'autre part.

'2, une sœur *Angelique Madelaine* mariée à *Henri de St. John*, vicomte et pair d'Angleterre, lequel avait eu d'un premier lit le célèbre lord Bolingbroke, ministre d'État sous la reine Anne; il eut du second lit une fille mariée au Chevalier Knight.

'3, une sœur *Anne* mariée à M. de Chaudieu, beau-père de l'autre Me de Chaudieu sa nièce, très probablement.

'Mes bisaïeux eurent, outre ma bisaïeule Me Rieu-Calandrini :

'1, une fille mariée à noble Jean Robert Tronchin conseiller, dont elle eut Théodore Tronchin le célèbre mèdecin, père de feu Madame la Comtesse Diodati et d'Auguste Tronchin, capitaine des gardes du roi de Prusse, dont les enfants restent établis en Prusse.

'2, une fille *Susane Julie* morte célibataire.

'Il est à presummer que mon bisaïeul Calandrini perdit une grande partie de sa fortune, ainsi que le fit mon bisaïeul Rieu, par le système de Law; la date de son séjour à Paris de 1710 à 1725 est favorable à cette opinion. Il employa, à en juger par une lettre de lord St. John, l'influence de ce noble beau-frère dans ses mauvaises affaires, sans que cela le menat à grand' chose.

'Je pense que ce fut dans la maison de Lord Bolingbroke quand il était ambassadeur à Paris, que ma bisaïeule Calandrini se lia intimemént avec Mademoiselle Aïssé, grande amie de Lady Bolingbroke. De là naquit plus tard la correspondence de Melle Aïssé publiée après la mort de Me Calandrini par les soins de sa petite fille Julie Rieu.

'Les lettres de Melle Aïssé ont acquis de la réputation par le naturel du style, et leur spirituelle amabilité; l'auteur fait preuve d'une grande amitié pour ma bisaïeule et son grand respect pour la vertu de cette amie qui cherchait à la détourner d'un attachement illégitime avec le Chevalier d'Aydi dont elle eut une fille.

'Madame Rieu Calandrini était d'une grande beauté: une tradition de famille nous apprend qu'un Anglais frappé de cette

beauté se mit à genou devant elle au milieu de la rue. Son mariage fut, à ce qu'il parait, plutôt une affaire d'argent que d'inclination, car elle était beaucoup plus jeune que son mari qui était assez laid, si certain portrait de galetas, que je crois de lui, est véridique. Il n'était pas de mode alors de consulter ses enfants lorsqu'on les mariait et la fortune de Monsieur Rieu lui tint lieu auprès des parents Calandrini des qualités plus aimables qu'il avait, à ce qu'il parait, à petite dose. Peut-être auraient ils agi différemment s'ils avaient réfléchi qu'une fortune acquise en grande partie par des spéculations hazardeuses pouvait être facilement détruite par la cupidité qui l'avait créée.

'Le mariage de ma bisäieule eut lieu comme je crois l'avoir dit, à Paris dans l'année 1720 dans la chapelle de l'ambassade anglaise. La famille Calandrini quitta cette ville qu'elle habitait dès 1710, pour retourner définitivement à Genève en 1725. Mme Rieu Calandrini y resta jusqu'en 1729.

'Ce fut dans le laps de temps, de 1720 à 1729 que se consomma la ruine complète de mon bisaïeul Rieu et de son frère Jean Rieu, banquier, et que mes bisaïeux Calandrini perdirent aussi en partie leur fortune; c'était une époque de grands bouleversements pécuniaires.

'Quant à Monsieur Rieu sa déroute fut telle qu'il fut obligé de renvoyer sa femme et ses enfants à Genève au ménage de sa belle mère Calandrini; lui-même vivait encore fort âgé en 1754 a Surênes près Paris où il mourut insolvable, car mon grand-père Henri Rieu répudia sa succession et anéantit je crois tous les papiers y relatifs dont aucun ne s'est retrouvé.

'*Jean Rieu* frère de mon bisaïeul, banquier et aussi momentanément enrichi par la spéculation, fut radicalement ruiné en même temps que son frère et alla mourir à Mulhouse chez un neveu, fils de sa sœur mariée à un négoçiant nommé Schön, dont je me rappelle avoir vu le fils, vieillard, qui visita mon père en 1817.

'Madame Rieu-Calandrini eut deux enfants de son mariage, savoir:

'*Henri Rieu*, mon grand-père, né à Paris en 1721, et

'*Julie Rieu*, née aussi à Paris en 1725. Ma bisaïeule de retour à Genève en 1729, y vécut jusqu'en 1779, année de sa mort qui eut lieu à l'âge de 82 ans, preuve que les chagrins et les revers de fortune ne tuent pas toujours immédiatement. Elle conserva dans sa vieillesse une belle prestance, avec une voix très forte, en sorte que lorsqu'elle conversait paisiblement avec sa fille Julie,

qui avait aussi une voix de même timbre, on croyait de la chambre voisine que la mère et la fille se disputaient.

'Henri Rieu mon grand-père n'a point été connu de moi ; sa mort eut lieu en 1787, un an avant ma naissance. C'était un grand et gros homme ; il avait commencé par la carrière du commerce en Hollande et avait eu pour parrain Henri Lord St. John son grand-oncle maternel, et pour marraine sa grande-tante maternelle Lady Vicomtesse St. John ; je ne crois pas que ces illustres relations lui aient été d'une grande utilité. Il vécut à Amsterdam de 1735 jusqu'en 1742 ; âgé alors de 21 ans il alla chercher fortune à Batavia et fut placé au service de la compagnie des Indes Hollandaises ; il s'y déplut et sans prévenir sa mère qui en fut très mécontente, abandonna ce service et revint en Europe en 1744 ; là, ne sachant que faire, il prit du service militaire en France et fit une campagne en Flandre dans le régiment de la Morlière, je ne sais dans quel grade. Il fut ensuite sur le point d'accepter une place d'officier que lui offrit dans une compagnie suisse au service de France, le capitaine Lullin de Châteauvieux, mais sa famille s'y opposa ; tout fait croire que de 1744 à 1748 il mena une vie assez avantureuse et désoeuvrée. Enfin en 1748, ayant obtenu un brevet de capitaine d'une compagnie franche de la marine française, il partit pour la Martinique et fut nommé là commandant des îlots de St. Martin et de St. Barthélémy qui dépendent de cette île.

'En 1750 il se maria à Marie Jeanne Guischard, créole de la Gaudeloupe, tenant à une famille honorable et aisée, et à dater de cette époque quitta le service et s'établit à la Guadeloupe où il soigna les plantations qui appartenaient à sa femme ou à ses parents.

'Il eut trois enfants, savoir :—

'*Marguerite Julie*, morte deux mois après sa naissance qui eut lieu en 1751 ;

'*Etienne Rieu*, mon père, né le 18 mars 1752 ; et

'*Marie Marguerite Judith*, née le 14 août 1753.

'En 1756 mon grand-père, sa femme et ses deux enfants partirent pour l'Europe en juin, et arrivèrent à Genève en Octobre de la même année, après avoir été capturés en mer par un corsaire anglais qui les conduisit à Portsmouth. Mon grand-père, qui avait en portefeuille sa fortune réalisée, vit sequestrer son avoir par les Anglais et ce ne fut ensuite qu'après de longues et pénibles démarches qu'il en recupera une partie. En 1763, ayant appris la mort de son beau-père J. B. Guischard, il repartit seul pour la Guadeloupe afin

de régler la succession, et revint à Genève l'année suivante après être débarqué à Amsterdam.

'Mon grand-père, de retour à Genève, habita avec sa famille soit chez sa mère, à la ville, soit dans un petit domaine qu'il avait acquis a Bourdigny. Il prit Genève en guignon, peut-être à cause de l'esprit turbulent qui y dominait, et ayant acheté de M. de Voltaire, en 1775, une petite maison à Ferney, il vendit son domaine de Bourdigny, et fut s'établir avec sa famille à Ferney.

'C'est là qu'il se lia avec l'homme illustre auquel convenaient ses goûts bibliophiles et qui l'appelait familièrement *son corsaire* parce que mon grand-père s'occupait à déterrer des éditions rares d'ouvrages souvent enfouis chez des bouquinistes.

'Voltaire voyait aussi beaucoup ma grand-mère et je me suis fait bien souvent raconter par celle-ci les traits de la vie intérieure et des nombreuses bizarreries du grand écrivain.

'Voltaire ayant abandonné Ferney en 1778 et étant mort peu de temps après, mon grand-père vendit en 1780 sa maison de Ferney pour en acheter une à Rolle où il transporta ses pénates contre le gré de ma grand-mère qui gémissait de se voir ainsi exilée de Genève qu'elle aimait et où elle était goûtée.

'Mon grand-père mourut en 1787 âgé de 66 ans. Il était cosmopolite, passionnait les voyages et les livres, parlait plusieurs langues, mais affectionnait surtout le Hollandais. Comme mon père, il avait fait lui-même son éducation, car son père fut nul pour lui et sa mère s'en débarrassa de bonne heure ; dans sa vie sédentaire, il passait ses journées dans sa bibliothèque et avait peu de goût pour la société, dans laquelle cependant son esprit, ses lectures et ses voyages le rendaient intéressant.

'Ses manières étaient souvent brusques et bizarres, il avait des préventions dont il ne revenait pas, et un caractère inquiet aimant le changement et administrant assez mal sa petite fortune. Il faisait souvent soupirer sa femme en employant l'argent dont le ménage avait besoin, a l'achât de vieux bouquins dont il parvint à se créer une bibliothèque assez singulière. A la mort de mon père, qui avait religieusement respecté cet embarras auquel il donnait, par tradition, une certaine valeur, je fis inventorier et vendre la plus grande partie de ce fatras qui occupait une chambre immense garnie de rayons du haut en bas, et j'y trouvai à côté de quelques classiques de prix, tant anciens que modernes, une collection de vieux voyages surannés dans toutes les parties du monde, et, chose étrange, une collection non moins grande de toutes les pièces

du théatre publiées dans le 18e siècle, depuis les farces de la foire jusqu'aux tragédies les plus relevées. Tout cela a été vendu à peu près au poids du papier, et je suis surpris que l'ombre de mon cher grand-père ne soit pas venue protester alors contre ce sacrilège.

'Mon grand-père au milieu de ses livres s'inquiéta peu de l'éducation de ses enfants, je dirai quelles furent ses manières avec eux lorsque je m'occuperai de ceux-ci.

'Ma grand-mère Rieu offrait un contraste parfait avec son mari; les créoles passent pour être indolentes et capricieuses; elle n'avait, quoique créole, aucun de ces défauts, à moins qu'on ne prenne une parfaite douceur pour le bon côté de l'indolence; son esprit était, avec cela fin et parfois malicieux mais sans l'ombre de méchanceté. Dans la société, qu'elle aimait, elle avait toujours quelque-chose d'aimable à raconter et savait tirer parti meme des sots. Aussi était-elle aimée et recherchée de tout le monde. La pauvre femme eut, à son arrivée en Europe, des luttes à soutenir d'abord contre le climat, et ensuite contre sa belle-sœur Julie Rieu, qui ne lui épargna aucun désagrément. Je ne sais sur quel pied elle vécut avec sa belle-mère, le caractère de son mari l'avait au reste rompue aux boutades et elle supportait tous ces tracas avec une égalité d'humeur qui finissait par désarmer. Elle avait pour mon père, dont le caractère doux et timide se rapprochait du sien, une prédilection que celui-ci lui rendait avec usure. Elle fut pour moi, ainsi que pour mes frères et sœurs, plus qu'une mère, pour moi surtout à qui elle se consacra dans les moments critiques de ma première enfance, avec un dévouement auquel je dois peut-être la vie. C'est d'elle que j'ai appris à lire, et si je ne lui exprimais pas dans le temps, la reconnaissance que je lui devais pour ses utiles leçons je n'en témoignais que plus de gratitude pour les morceaux de pain grillé qu'elle dîmait pour moi sur son déjeuner et pour les petits larçins qu'elle commettait en ma faveur sur les goûters de la société où elle allait.

'Elle est morte à Rolle en 1808, âgée de près de 80 ans. Ma grande-tante Julie Rieu, née en 1725, vécut avec sa mère Mme Rieu Calandrini jusqu'à la mort de celle-ci en 1779. C'était une virago à traits et à caractère masculins, caractère brusque et bizarre avec peu de jugement. Elle montra cependant du bon sens en ne se mariant point (je ne sais au reste s'il y eut préméditation de sa part) elle aurait certainement fait le désespoir d'un mari; elle fit, comme je dit, celui de ma grand-mère, qu'elle finit cependant

par respecter lorsque l'âge eut amené plus de réflexion et qu'elle ne fut plus en ménage avec elle.

'On m'a souvent raconté que lorsqu'elle habitait Chouilly, campagne maternelle, elle passait son temps à courir les champs sur un cheval de ferme pour communiquer et pour chasser avec les demoiselles Picter de Vernier, ses intimes amies, qui avaient les mêmes goûts qu'elle-même et dont les moeurs étaient fort excentriques. A la mort de sa mère elle se mit à son ménage, tandis que sa tante Julie Calandrini, qui n'avait jamais quitté sa sœur Rieu-Calandrini, se réunit au ménage de mon grand-père son neveu.

'En 1792 la révolution la chassa a Rolle puis à Lausanne, où elle se réunit à une amie Mme de Nassau et où elle mourut en 1812 âgée de 86 ans.

'Je ne l'ai connue que dans cette dernière phase de sa vie, c'est à dire bien vieille ; je me rapelle très bien sa moustache blanche et certain rire convulsif qui me faisait presque peur. Dans sa jeunesse les demoiselles n'apprenaient qu'à coudre ; on ne voyait point alors comme aujourd'hui circuler dans les rues des jeunes filles raides et empesées, chargées de toilettes et legères de naturel, fort instruites, il est vrai, ou croyant l'être au moins, dans les arts d'agrément, à en juger par le poids des cahiers de musique sous lequel elles succombent.

'Ma chère grande-tante se mit à la mode de son siècle et toute sa littérature fut une littérature puisée dans la lecture des romans, qu'elle avait la rage de noter à la marge où elle consignait des réflexions assez vulgaires, avec une orthographe qu'eussent enviée les meilleures cuisinières.

'Il faut cependant, pour lui rendre justice, ajouter qu'elle publia la traduction française d'un roman anglais dont ainsi que le public, j'ai oublié le mérite et le nom ; et qu'elle fit aux lecteurs un présent plus précieux en se faisant éditeur anonyme des lettres adressées à sa grand-mère Calandrini par Mademoiselle Aïssé.

'Mon père débarqué de la Guadeloupe a l'âge de six ans demeura chez ses parents jusqu'à l'âge de 14 ans. Son père s'occupa peu de lui et ses premières études furent bien nulles car il eut plus tard l'obligation et le mérite de s'instruire lui-même par la lecture, pendant les heures vacantes que lui laissa le service militaire. D'un caractère timide et réservé, il fut de bonne heure comprimé par la sévérité paternelle et prit ainsi le goût et l'habitude d'une vie intérieure et peu communicative. Il lui fallait la société de sa mère ou celle

d'amis intimes pour donner expansion à un esprit qui était alors, par exception, enjoué et gai et qui avait tous les moyens requis pour intéresser et pour plaire. Mon père lisait beaucoup et avait une bonne mémoire, mais le contact avec ses semblables lui manqua toujours, il en résulta qu'il n'eut jamais une bonne méthode ni pour apprendre ni pour enseigner et qu'il ne fit point assez valoir pour les autres les connaissances plutôt entassées que co-ordonnées dans sa tête.

'Ses études favorites furent, après celles relatives à la carrière militaire qu'il suivit, l'histoire et les classiques tant anciens que modernes ; il possédait assez de grec, de latin, et d'allemand pour suivre les ouvrages écrits dans ces langues.

'Dans ses lectures il choisissait plutot l'ancien que le moderne, et cette préférence se retrouvait dans toutes les habitudes d'une vie enemie des innovations, qui ne comprenait pas le libéralisme du 19e siècle et pour laquelle le radicalisme moderne eut été inintelligible.

'Sous sa réserve habituelle, mon père avait dans les circonstances serieuses beaucoup de fermeté et de courage ; il eut été impossible de le faire dévier de la ligne droite, et cette noble qualité imprimait à son caractère extérieur une respectabilité qui exercait son influence sur tout ce qui l'abordait.

'Par contre dans les détails ordinaires des affaires et de la vie il se défiait beaucoup trop de lui-même ; il avait alors absolument besoin d'un conseil. Ce conseil il le chercha toujours auprès de son ami, parent et ancien camarade de service, M. Grenus Saladin. jamais il n'a conclu une petite ou une grande affaire sans dire "*j'en parlerai à Grenus.*" Au fait M. Grenus fut pour lui un homme de bon conseil et, presque l'unique ami de mon père, il intervint utilement et obligeamment dans plus d'une circonstance.

'Il acheta le domaine de Chouilly à un prix raisonable dans un temps de révolution où mon père aurait difficilement trouvé à le vendre quoiqu'il eut besoin d'argent. La vente fut heureuse et sage, quoiqu'aujourd'hui je la regrette sincèrement par esprit de famille.

'Mon père contracta au service militaire des habitudes d'ordre et de régularité dont il ne se départit plus pendant le reste de sa vie. Constamment il se leva avant jour l'hiver, au point du jour l'été, fit son lit, balaya sa chambre, brossa ses souliers, se promena à la même heure ; la mode n'eut aucun empire sur lui, et sa fidélité fut inaltérable pour la culotte, le bas blanc, les souliers à larges

boucles, la poudre à poudrer, les ailes de pigeons et la queue. Nommé à la Restauration lieutenant colonel de la milice, il prit un costume qui tenait le milieu avec l'ancien et le nouveau régime ; dans tout autre cela eut prêté au ridicule ; mais il inspirait tant de respect par sa droiture en toutes choses, sa politesse envers tout le monde sans exception de rang ou de fortune et sa loyauté toute militaire, qu'il ne vint pas à l'idee de nos Genevois si railleurs de se permettre jamais la moindre plaisanterie sur son compte.

'Dans sa jeunesse, mon père avait une santé délicate et son parent le docteur Tronchin lui avait interdit à cause de cela l'usage du vin et des liqueurs. Sa santé se fortifia mais l'habitude resta invariable et je ne lui vis jamais boire ni vin, ni liqueur fermentée quelconque, ni thé, ni café. Ce régime lui procura sans doute une grande égalité de santé, mais je ne puis m'empêcher de croire que l'absence de tout tonique favorisa le développement de la maladie douloureuse qui termina sa vie. Ce fut un écoulement cronique par le nez qui dégénéra en une humeur cancereuse au cerveau.

'Voici en peu de mots les diverses circonstances de la vie de mon père ; il fut a l'âge de 14 ans envoyé comme cadet dans le régiment suisse de Diesbach au service de France ; en 1766, il obtint une sous-lieutenance, puis devint Capitaine, en 1779 de la compagnie Genevoise du même Régiment.

'Une longue paix continentale ne lui fournit aucune occasion de sortir de la vie de garnison, et son service s'écoula en alternatives de caserne et congés de semestre dans sa famille. La guerre aurait, je n'en doute pas, développé chez lui de précieuses qualités comme homme et comme militaire.

'La Révolution Française qui grondait sourdement appela en 1789 le régiment de mon père dans un camp que Louis XVI rassemblait au Champ de Mars à Paris ; le roi intimidé par l'assemblée constituente, rompit ce camp et le régiment de mon père fut renvoyé à Arras, puis a Lille où il fut licencié le 9 septembre 1791. Mon père avait été reçu chevalier de l'ordre du mérite militaire qui remplaçait la croix de St. Louis pour les militaires protestants, le 10 avril de la même année. La durée totale de son service militaire en France avait été de 25 ans.

'Dans cet intervalle mon père s'était marié en 1783, le cousin Grenus aidant, avec Melle Marie Charlotte Turrettini fille d'Antoine Turrettini, et de Renée Saladin-Grenus sœur de feu M. Saladin de Crans.

'Ma grand'mère Turrettini était alors veuve, possédait une

belle fortune et avait deux fils—Jean Daniel qui hérita du chateau Turrettini, et Charles qui fut Turrettini-Aubert. Ce dernier, homme fort aimable, fut officer suisse au service de France ; il était extrèmement léger et finit par ruiner sa mère en l'engageant dans les billets solidaires ; il est le père du Syndic Turrettini.

'On voit donc que du côté maternel, comme du côté paternal j'aurais pu avec quelques *si* de moins rouler sur l'or et sur l'argent. En vérité je ne le regrette pas, car j'ai reçu de mes parents le seul héritage vraiment digne d'envie, savoir des goûts très simples, peu de besoins factices et l'inappréciable habitude de me suffire à moi-même ; élevé loin du faste j'ai appris de bonne heure a démêler tout ce qui se cache de vide et de fausseté sous les dehors trompeurs du monde qui éblouissent tant de gens.

'Ma mère avait reçu l'éducation qu'on donnait alors aux demoiselles, c'est à dire qu'elle savait tout juste lire, écrire et coudre ; elle ne brillait ni par l'esprit, ni par les dons extérieurs mais elle avait ce qui vaut mieux, un jugement droit et un attachement plein de dévouement pour mon père, dont elle partagea les mauvaises circonstances avec autant de résignation que de fermeté.

'Elle fut toujours pour moi la plus tendre des mères et se fit la confidante de mes tribulations d'enfance étant plus d'une fois mon avocat auprès de mon père.

'Plus tard elle s'exagéra beaucoup mes mérites et me fit sentir, sans le vouloir, combien j'étais peu à la hauteur des éloges qu'elle me donnait.

'Mariée à un militaire, elle n'accompagna point mon père dans ses garnisons, mais vécut toujours pendant ce temps avec sa mère. Après son licenciement mon père vint l'y joindre jusqu'à la mort de Mme Turrettini qui eut lieu en 1794.

'A cette époque sévissait à Genève la terreur Jacobine ; mon père se préparait dejà avec un parfait sang-froid à aller en prison, mais sa vie passée a l'étranger et isolée de la politique locale, ne donnait aucune prise aux terroristes en dépit de sa position aristocratique ; il en fut quitte pour payer une taxe révolutionnaire de cent louis.

'Sa belle-mère morte, mon père transporta son ménage à Rolle auprès de sa mère chez laquelle il se mit en pension ; il y resta jusqu'en 1798, époque de la réunion de Genève à la France.

'Sa famille se composait alors

1, de moi, né le 6 août 1788 :

2, de ma sœur Henriette, née le 28 fevrier 1785 ;

3, de mon frère Charles Jules, né le 11 août 1792 ; et enfin,

4, de ma sœur Jeanne Elizabeth, née le 15 fevrier 1794.

'Une position de fortune très étroite obligea mon père à se procurer une place et un ancien ami M. Craner-Delue ayant été nommé receveur général du nouveau département du Leman dont Genève était le cheflieu, lui offrit celle de son caissier. Mon père accepta faute de mieux, avec le sentiment qu'il n'avait ni les habitudes de comptabilité, ni la promptitude de calcul requises pour un tel emploi, mais il fallait vivre et élever quatre enfants. Les craintes ne se verifièrent que trop : après 4 années d'ennuis et d'inquiétudes, il résigna cette place avec le triste résultat d'avoir à combler un déficit de caisse de plus de trois mille francs, déficit provenant soit d'erreurs de calcul ou d'écriture, soit aussi des tromperies auxquelles le peu d'expérience de mon père en matière de comtabilité, et sa vue basse purent donner facilement une prise.

'En décembre 1802 mon père rentra donc dans son cabinet. Ce fut en 1808 qu'il perdit mon excellente grand'mère Rieu qui laissa un grand vide, et dans la famille et dans son entourage. Elle mourut à Rolle laissant sa fille en possession de sa maison et de son ménage.

'Ma tante Rieu n'avait point le caractère de son frère et encore moins son jugement. elle était d'un naturel décidé, aimant à tenir le haut bout dans sa petite coterie de Rolle dont elle fut pendant longtemps l'oracle. Elle nous inspirait à nous autres enfants une grande peur parce qu'elle ne supportait aucun tapage enfantin et nous mettait sans façon à la porte quand notre présence se signalait par quelques jeux ou quelques pleurs qui troublaient les sempiternelles parties de whist qu'elle jouait soir et matin avec trois ou quatre habitués au nombre desquels se trouvaient les deux pasteurs de Rolle. Comme la plupart des vieilles filles elle gérait mystérieusement ses affaires pécunaires et les gérait fort mal ; à la fin de sa vie elle emprunta même de quelques amis étrangers sans recourir à sa famille, ce qui nous mit fort mal à l'aise lorsque nous l'apprimes après sa mort. Lorsque les neveux et nièces arrivèrent à l'adolescence cette tante malgré ces petits faibles, devint pour eux un modèle de tendresse et d'affection qu'ils cherchèrent à lui rendre à leur tour, et cette relation nous a laissé à tous des souvenirs bien autrement profonds que ceux de nos peurs enfantines. Elle est morte à Rolle in 1839 agée de près de 70 ans.

A la Restauration de la République en 1814 mon père fut tiré

de sa chambre et de ses livres et appelé au Conseil Représentatif ; on devine que sa défiance de lui même et sa réserve ne lui permirent pas d'y ouvrir la bouche ; d'ailleurs tant d'autres y parlaient à tort et à travers. Il fut en même temps appelé à siéger au Conseil Militaire ; là il était davantage dans son élément et sut s'y rendre utile en se chargeant de la surveillance des recrues de la future garnison ou garde soldée qu'on organisait alors et dont les officiers n'étaient pas encore nommés. Il mit à cette fonction toute la ponctualité d'un ancien militaire. En 1815 il fut chargé par le Conseil d'État de se rendre à Berne pour y signer aupres du Maréchal de Camp Mallet la capitulation pour une compagnie genevoise au service de France dans un régiment de la ligne.

'Mon père renonça en 1818 aux affaires publiques ; je le remplaçait dans le Conseil Militaire et il ne manquait pas de remplaçants beaucoup plus bavards que lui dans le Conseil Représentatif. Il fut mis à la suite lors de la réorganisation de la Milice en 1818. Sa chambre redevint son univers jusqu'à sa mort qui eut lieu le 20 fevrier 1821 ; il avait alors 69 ans.

'Ma sœur Henriette avait épousé en 1804 M. Galliard, et ma sœur Eliza, en 1817, M. Emanuel Sautter ; je n'ai rien à apprendre sur ces bonnes mères de famille qui vivent encore entourées d'une nombreuse postérité, mais je dois quelques mots à la mémoire d'un frère enlevé trop vite à mon affection.

'Mon frère Charles avait 4 ans de moins que moi et mon intimité avec lui ne commença véritablement que lorsque nous nous vîmes tous deux au collège à Genève, vivant dès-lors dans la même chambre et soumis ensemble à la sévérité de la discipline paternelle, nos plaisirs et nos peines furent mis en commun. Son caractère plus amiable et plus doux que le mien ne prêtait point aux disputes, et les enrageries, toutes de mon côté, expiraient faute d'aliment.

'Il avait, quoique plus jeune, un sérieux dans l'esprit que j'étais loin de partager, et ce sérieux était tempéré par la plus aimable et la plus inoffensive gaité. C'est avec cette disposition qu'il s'attacha de bonne heure et sans qu'aucune impulsion paternelle lui fut donnée, a l'idée d'embrasser la carrière du Saint Ministère.

'Séparé de lui en 1806 lorsque je partis pour l'École Polytechnique, je ne me retrouvai avec lui d'une manière stable que lorsque je quittai le service en 1815. Je n'oublierai jamais l'émotion de plaisir qu'il manifesta alors et tout ce qu'il fit pour dissiper les inquiétudes que j'avais sur ma position précaire et pour me rendre agréable la maison paternelle. A cette époque cependant il était lui-même

en proie à toutes les tribulations de la fin de ses épreuves théologiques, c'était toujours la même bonté, la même égalité d'humeur, mais la disposition au sérieux avait pris le dessus, il approchait d'un moment solennel, celui de sa consécration, et de plus il avait pris la gravité d'un adepte de la doctrine religieuse que l'Anglais Drumond venait d'importer à Genève sous le nom d'*orthodoxie*; poussé de plus en plus dans cette voie par une communauté de foi et de vocation avec Louis Gaussen, le reste de sa vie porta l'empreinte de ce cachet sans rien ôter au charme de ses relations de famille, qu'accompagna toujours une douce tolérance.

'Cette orthodoxie (ou ce méthodisme comme on l'appela) était sans doute une des voies de la sagesse divine pour sauver le troupeau protestant de Genève de la pente trop prononcée qui l'entraînait alors dans les sentiers de la sagesse humaine ou de la philosophie du XVIIIe siècle ; elle eut cependant un tort à mes yeux, tort qui l'écarta de son but, celui d'aborder avec trop d'animosité et trop peu de charité le clergé Genevois qui, j'en ai la conviction, avait cédé à l'esprit du siècle sans aucun dessein prémédité, qu'on aurait ramené en employant la tolérance et la persuasion, qu'on aigrit et qu'on révolta par des attaques brusques et injurieuses.

'Mon frère n'avait pas encore contracté l'habitude de la composition, et il est difficile de rendre l'angoisse qu'il éprouva pour terminer ses propositions d'épreuve, lui qui plus tard devait étonner son troupeau et ses relations par sa fécondité. Admis à la consécration en 1817 il ne vit plus que le moment de pratiquer sa sainte vocation et saisit avec empressement l'occasion qui s'offrit à lui de remplacer son ami Coulin en qualité de pasteur de l'Église Réformée Française de Frédéricia, province de Jutland en Danemarck.

'Il parti au mois de décembre 1817. Hélas, nous ne devions plus le revoir ; il séjourna a Gottingue jusqu'en mars 1818 pour suivre quelques cours de cette université célèbre et y contracta l'habitude de la langue allemande.

'Mon frère trouva à Frédéricia un troupeau qui le reçut avec toutes les marques possibles d'intérêt et d'empressement, gens simples, dociles, qui ne parlaient plus leur langue d'origine le Français, mais bien l'Allemand et surtout le Danois. Il était dans son caractére de se dévouer entièrement ; il le fit pour sa nouvelle paroisse, dont il fut le bienfaiteur temporel et spirituel, infatigable dans les prédications dans les deux langues, allemand et française, fondateur d'une école qu'il créa et logea dans un bâtiment construit

avec l'argent des collectes qu'il fit dans toute la Chrétienté, réunissant en outre vieux et jeunes pour les instruire en les édifient, visitant scrupuleusement les malades, il finit par négliger les soins de sa propre santé, et épuisa dans les veilles un corps auquel il n'avait plus le temps de donner la nourriture et le repos qui lui étaient nécessaires.

'Attint d'une maladie epidémique qu'il contracta dans ses visites aux malades, son tempérament affaibli par les travaux et les privations, ne put y résister et il succomba le 28 juin 1821 au bout de trois années de ministère ; il prévit sa fin avec une sécurité d'âme inspirée par la foi, adressa verbalement et par écrit les plus touchants adieux à ses paroissiens et à sa famille, et mourut léguant à sa paroisse la moitié du petit héritage paternel et laissant a Frédéricia une réputation de sainteté et des souvenirs qu'on dit encore très profonds.

'Quelques années après sa mort, une princesse de la famille royale de Danemarck voulut en passant à Frédéricia cueillir une fleur sur le tombeau de mon frère.

'Après avoir ainsi fait l'historique de mes proches, il est temps que je m'aborde moi-même.'

The French Church of Thorpe-le-Soken.

By WILLIAM CHAPMAN WALLER, M.A., F.S.A.

Our knowledge of the small French congregation which once had its headquarters in the Essex village of Thorpe-le-Soken is derived from three sources. First, we have the Register of baptisms, marriages, and burials, which has been recently issued in printed form to the members of our Society; in the second place, there is the Minute-Book of the Consistory of the church; and, thirdly, the court-rolls of the manor, with certain loose documents in the custody of the vicar of the parish, furnish some additional and confirmatory information. The Register and the Minute-Book were known to Baron F. de Schickler and to Mr. J. S. Burn, who made use of them in their respective books on the foreign settlers; and from those authors many of the facts contained in the Introduction to the recently-issued Register were gathered.[1] Since that introduction was written, access to the Minute-Book has, by the kindness of the Deputy-Governor of the French Hospital, been granted, and it is now proposed to give some account of its contents. They will, I venture to think, serve to vivify in a measure the dry bones of the Register, and prove of interest as showing how a small provincial church began and ended.

The *Registre des Actes du Consistoire de l'Église Françoise Recueillie à Thorp le Socken en Essex depuis l'an 1683* opens with a historical note signed 'Severin, Pasteur,' in which is set out, in a charming script and excellent French, the origin of his mission. He tells us that on June 4, 1683, his lordship, the Bishop of London (Henry Compton) gave him a commission to go to Beamont (Beaumont), and preach in the parish church there to the French Protestants whom the persecution had

[1] *Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*, par le Baron F. de Schickler (1892); and *The History of the Foreign Protestant Refugees in England*, by J. S. Burn (1846).

caused to gather in that district, the Committee[1] having promised to find the stipend necessary for his subsistence.[2] On July 1 he preached in the afternoon, and thereby, it would seem, disturbed the ordinary service. At any rate the parishioners quickly objected to the invasion, and the French, on their side, judging that it would be much more convenient (*beaucoup plus commode*) to meet at Thorpe-le-Soken, united in asking permission to have services there. The Bishop's permission was formally asked and given in the presence of his clergy, whom he had summoned to meet him at Colchester, and it was extended to churches in the neighbourhood, the clergy belonging to which were exhorted not to raise difficulties. In virtue of this permission the meetings were fixed at Thorpe, and on Sunday, July 29, 1683, Monsieur Severin preached there for the first time, when it was enjoined on him (by whom he does not say) to fulfil all the functions of an evangelical minister, in conformity with the canons and constitutions of the Anglican Church.[3]

Why Beaumont was originally fixed on there is no evidence to show; but it is possible that some one of the more influential immigrants may have settled there.[4] The congregation gener-

[1] This Committee was possibly the 'Comité Laic,' appointed to distribute the Royal Bounty of 16,000*l.* a year among the poor French Protestants and their dependents. A second Committee, the 'Comité Ecclésiastique,' was appointed under the direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, and the Bishop of London, to distribute a part of it (1718*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*) for the support of French Protestant ministers who were poor, and for those churches which were not endowed. (J. S. Burn, p. 22.)

[2] In 1681 M. de la Clide received 50*l.*, 'probably,' says Mr. B. G. Beeman, 'for Thorpe le Soken.' But this is not borne out by the Minute-Book, or by a subsequent entry in his article which, under the heading 'Beaumonshall,' shows M. Severin, 'minister here,' as receiving 15*l.* 12*s.* in 1684. If M. de la Clide received money for the church or the poor French Protestants in 1681, it must have been for those spoken of as being at Beaumont. (*Hug. Soc. Proc.* vii, p. 122, 152.)

[3] In this 'peculiar' the Vicar General of the lord may have performed this ceremony.

[4] In compliance with my request the rector, the Rev. H. G. S. Mathews, most kindly searched the Beaumont Registers, but the only entry to be found relating to a foreigner was one which recorded the marriage of Charles La Porte, of Beaumont, to Frances Gudgeon [*i.e.* Goujon], of Shoreditch, on April 10, 1683. 'This couple,' adds the recorder, 'were French Protestants.'

ally seems to have been distributed over various villages in the vicinity.

On New Year's Day in the following year (1684) the members of the church, having 'by the blessing of God increased in numbers,' the pastor called together the heads of families and their representatives. He then explained that, in order to conform with the Anglican Church, they must elect two 'anciens,' or churchwardens; and also that, the ministerial stipend being very moderate in amount ('mediocre') and only temporary, it would be necessary for every one to tax himself ('se cottizer') according to his position and means, for the maintenance of church and minister. Thereupon the pastor nominated M. Jean de L'estrille, sieur de la Clide, and the meeting nominated M. Daniel Olivier, as churchwardens. The financial question was solved by each taxing himself ('un chacun se taxa') according to his means, and, apparently, making promises for the future. The record of the proceedings was signed: Severin, *Ministre*; John delestrilles de la Clide, *Ancien*; Daniel Olivier, *Ancien*. The Consistory met on April 4 following and decided to have weekly collections, the churchwardens to take in turn their stand at the church-door at the end of all services. It was also decided that the Consistory should keep an account of the receipts and expenditure of the money so collected, the money itself to be left in the hands of each churchwarden, alternately, for the space of one year, when account was to be rendered. Daniel Olivier was appointed to undertake the first year.

In the following June (1684) an important event happened. There had come to settle among the little congregation a Monsieur Alexandre Sasserie, who, considering the needs of the church, presented it with a silver cup for use at the Communion Service. Grateful for the gift, the Consistory ('la compagnie') thought it fitting to thank him personally at his house ('de le remercier en corps en son logis'), praying God to increase more and more 'the revenues of His righteousness.' It was further resolved that the cup should not be employed for any other purpose than that to which it was consecrated, and that it should be placed in the care of the

churchwarden who for the time being was acting as church treasurer.

Almost a year elapsed before another entry was made, and then the question of building a 'Temple' emerges. The Consistory, together with the principal heads of families, being assembled, one of the brethren represented how necessary such a building was, adding that it would be well to make the proposition to the Bishop of London, and, if he approved, to ask him how the congregation could build a church without being put to any expense in the matter ('sans que l'Église fut chargée d'aucuns frais'). The need of a sacred edifice being fully recognised, the meeting approved the proposition and thought it well that it should be brought forward at a time when Parliament was sitting. Monsieur Sasserie was accordingly asked to go immediately to London, furnished with a memorandum and a letter to the Bishop. This memorandum, which is rather prolix, I will abstract, under the headings given.

'May 14, 1685. Memorandum for Monsieur Sasserie.

'1°. To ask, in the name of the congregation, for leave to build a temple, in order that they may be able to have more frequent services.

'2°. To ask permission to be allowed to purchase a site for the purpose.

'3°. To ask the Bishop to help in finding the means towards success in their object, as they have none of their own, and do not know whether it is necessary to get Letters Patent or Parliamentary authority.

'4°. To represent the reasons for which they desire the favour, which would tend to the advantage of the district generally, and particularly to that of their church. For, with a church of their own, they will be able to have more frequent prayers and services, and to hold catechism-classes for young people who, without such instruction, cannot make wholesome use of sermons which they do not understand. Moreover it will be a means of increasing the congregation and of making it sooner able to exist without the help of the Committee which now charitably provides it with the means of subsistence. For it is evident that people will come and establish themselves with much more confidence in a place

where the church seems solidly supported, and in which permission has been given to build a house of God.

Having dealt with their own particular interests they proceed to urge the reasons affecting the district, which they conceive to be not less weighty. They set forth its comparative fertility and its lack of inhabitants, owing to emigration to America and other causes, stating that several large farms are lying fallow. The building of a temple would, they submit, draw people from all parts, especially at a time when, as every one knows, the condition of affairs is antagonistic to the repose and tranquillity of their brethren ; and it would help to people a district which, once the abode of the nobility, they describe as being then hardly more than a desert covered with bracken and broom. It might also be added that the change (*i.e.* the accession of James II) which had happened in the kingdom, had caused their brethren abroad for the most part to believe that the state of religion was also about to be altered, and that nothing would be more likely to convince them of their mistake, and to undeceive people, than an authentic permit to build a new church granted to Protestants, whom the misery of the times has compelled to seek in foreign lands that liberty of conscience which is denied them in their own. After a reference to the number of well-to-do people [1] who have resolved to come to England to share in the tranquillity which, by the grace of God, under the righteous sceptre of the King, and owing to the piety and extraordinary zeal of the Bishop of London, those already there enjoy, they conclude by asking the blessing of heaven on M. Sasserie and his mission.

Although the letter to the Bishop is somewhat long it is perhaps worth while to print it, and in its original form : to translate it would be to spoil it.

Lettre pour M^gneur de Londres.

Monseigneur,—Comme le plus grand et le premier de vos soins est de travailler à l'establissement de la gloire de Dieu, et à l'edification de sa maison, Nostre Compagnie ose se promettre que vous ne trouverez

[1] The words in the original are, 'quantité de fideles accommodez selon le monde.'

pas mauvais qu'elle ait chargée Mr Sasserie de la Commission de se rendre aupres de Vostre grandeur pour luy presanter de nostre part une tres humble Requeste. Cest un des Principaux Membres de nostre Eglise, de quy la vertu est exemplaire, et le zele ardent, et ses merites ne sont pas moins cognus a Londres qu'a Paris. Il doit Vous represanter les besoins que nous aurions dans ce lieu d'un Temple qui nous fut affecté, Vous en demander tres humblement l'approbation et le consentement, et Vous prier de nous accorder la liberté d'en bastir et de nous aider a trouver le fonds et les moyens necessaire pour reüssir dans cette entreprise. Il Vous fera cognoitre les raisons qui nous obligent de desirer cet edifice sacré, et nous esperons que vous ne les jugerez pas indignes de la proposition qui Vous en est faite. Nous prions Dieu, Monsgneur qu'il preside toujours en Vostre esprit, par le sien et qu'il Vous conserve longtemps pour le bien de l'etat et de l'Eglise, et pour la consolation des etrangers qui sont persecutez pour la justice, et sommes avec toute la soumission et tout le respect que nous le devons.

'Monseigneur,

De Votre grandeur

Les tres humbles et tres obeissants Serviteurs les Ministre, Anciens, et chefs de famille de l'egl. fr. de Thorp, et pour tous,

SEVERIN, Pasteur.

JOHN DELESTRILLE DE LA CLIDE, Ancien.

DANIEL OLIVER, Ancien.

The letter, accompanied by M. Sasserie's advocacy, proved effectual, and a week later (May 20, 1685) he reported to the Consistory ('nostre compagnie') that he had been to Fulham, and that the Bishop, approving their design, advised their applying to the lord of the manor for a convenient bit of common-land as a site, adding that no licence beside his own was needed. M. Sasserie received the humble thanks of the assembly for his kind services, and was begged to go again to London, in company with M. Severin, the pastor. They were, at their own request, furnished with a minute of the commission entrusted to them and empowered to treat and make contracts in the name of the church. This was decided by the Consistory, in company with the greater number of the heads of families,

and the detailed instruction, or 'acte,' was signed by the following: 'Severin, *ministre* (he rarely uses a Christian name); Daniel Olivier, *anc.*; Jean de l'Estrille de la Clide, *anc.*; Puiechegut, Messien, P. Potier, A. Maria, de la Porte, Bonnet, Paul Caes, Samuel Courcelles, Jean Sionneau; Sasserie, Pontardant, Benjamin Turquain.

From an entry made a month later, it appears that M. Severin was not resident in Thorpe, as he is mentioned as being there on business for a few days; but on July 8 he and M. Sasserie reported the result of their second journey to London. The Bishop confirmed his previous promise and also, at their request, wrote a letter to Andrew Wharton, styled lord of the manor of Thorpe, and got the Duke of Albemarle to countersign it. This set out the facts of the case, as we know them, and warmly begged him to grant the refugees a suitable site on the common land, without prejudice to the inhabitants, for the building of a chapel. To an expression of their conviction that Mr. Wharton will second their good intentions and give all imaginable encouragement to such a good work, the Duke and the Bishop add that they will regard his kindness as putting them under a personal obligation to him. The deputies further reported that, having gone to Much Badow, where Mr. Wharton was then living, and handed him the letter, he voluntarily made them a free gift of the site called the Boulingreene in Thorpe, and they produced a deed in Latin to that effect, duly signed and sealed. Of that deed a French translation is given, and it runs in the common form:

'To all the faithful in Christ to whom these presents shall come, greeting [etc.]. Know that I, Andrew Wharton, have given, [etc.] to the Sieur Alexandre Sasserie all that part of my land which is common-land ['dans les Communes'] of Thorpe, commonly called the Boulingreene, containing about a quarter of an acre, . . . to hold to him and his heirs forever, conditionally on his and their permitting the French Congregation and their successors forever to enjoy the same for building a chapel, if they have the permission of the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry, Bishop of London, or his successors.'

This document is dated June 3, 1685, and was witnessed by Jean Severin, S. Savery, and Hen. Veley. It was explained

to the meeting that the gift was made to M. Sasserie in trust for the church rather than to the church itself, because to render the deed valid and the gift sure it had to be made to a naturalised person, or at the least to a free denizen; and M. Sasserie was the only person so qualified, he being possessed of letters of denization.

On their returning to London with this deed of gift, the Bishop had informed them that it must be confirmed in the Ecclesiastical Court, but that the confirmation could only be after the completion of a church ready for service, and that meanwhile he would give them a licence to begin building, which he did in this simple form: 'I allow the building of a chapel, church, or oratory, on the land which Mr. Wharton has given on the waste in the parish of Thorpe in Essex. June 5, 1685. H. London.' The Bishop having approved their design of soliciting donations in money, the deputies obtained gifts from various charitable folk and entered them on a roll ('roole.') When this roll was shown to the Duke of Ormond, who had expressed a wish to contribute, he told them that it would be wise to make a special roll for the English nobles and gentry ('seigneurs Anglois'). This having been done, the Duke and the Earl of Bedford each subscribed 10*l.*, and the roll was left with M. Jean Batiste de Rozemond, Minister of the Gospel, to hand to Dr. Tenison, pastor of the parish of St. Martins-in-the-Fields, who promised to try to make up the amount required. At M. Sasserie's request his accounts were then examined by the Consistory and exhibited the following figures:

Received for the building of the Church	42 07 00	Expenses of the first journey to London	1 13 06
		Expenses of the second journey, with M. Severin	5 00 00
		Cost of carriages, lodging, and other things, shewn in the account	11 16 05
		Tax on the money given by the Dutch Embassy	00 04 09
		Given to the Sr. de L'Isle by order of the Consistory	00 12 00
		In M. Sasserie's hands [July 8, 1685]	23 00 04
	£42 07 00		£42 07 00

In addition to the balance in hand there were promises outstanding amounting to 23*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*

So far all seems plain sailing; but, to those acquainted with our manorial system, it will probably have occurred that Mr. Wharton's grant was a somewhat unusual one. Grants of waste land were always made in the manor-court, where the tenants of the manor, free and copyhold, were present as jurors. In the present case injury seems to have been added to insult by the fact that Mr. Wharton was not lord of the manor and that the land granted away was a place of village sport.[1] But before the month of July had run its course the Consistory met again, having heard that the villagers intended to oppose the grant; and, taking into consideration that milords of Albemarle and London had in their letter made it a condition that the building should not be to the prejudice of the inhabitants, and being also anxious not to give cause for complaints and murmurings against themselves, it was resolved, if it could be done, to purchase another site in the parish, more convenient for their services than the Boulingreene which had been granted them.

No time was lost, and four days later (August 3, 1685) we have the record of the purchase, from Solomon Green, of Ramsey, near Harwich, of a site abutting north, partly on a house belonging to the Church of England and partly on the King's highway, 161 feet in length from north to south, and from east to west, from the corner of John Bernard's garden to the hedge on the opposite side, 131 feet in breadth. For this plot 15*l.* was paid by M. Sasserie out of church money in his hands, and Green agreed to confirm the purchaser's title in the next court held at Kirby, the memorandum of the sale being meanwhile handed, in accordance with the custom of the country, to two tenants of the manor of Thorpe. The boundaries here given vary in some respects from those found on the court-roll, and they furnish additional evidence as to the site already identified in the Introduction to the Registers

[1] Morant tells us that Thorpe Hall and the demesne land were sold to Thomas Wharton, Secretary to Queen Henrietta Maria, and that he died on August 6, 1669. and was buried at Thorpe. He was succeeded by his son, Andrew, from whom the estate passed to Henry Nurse.

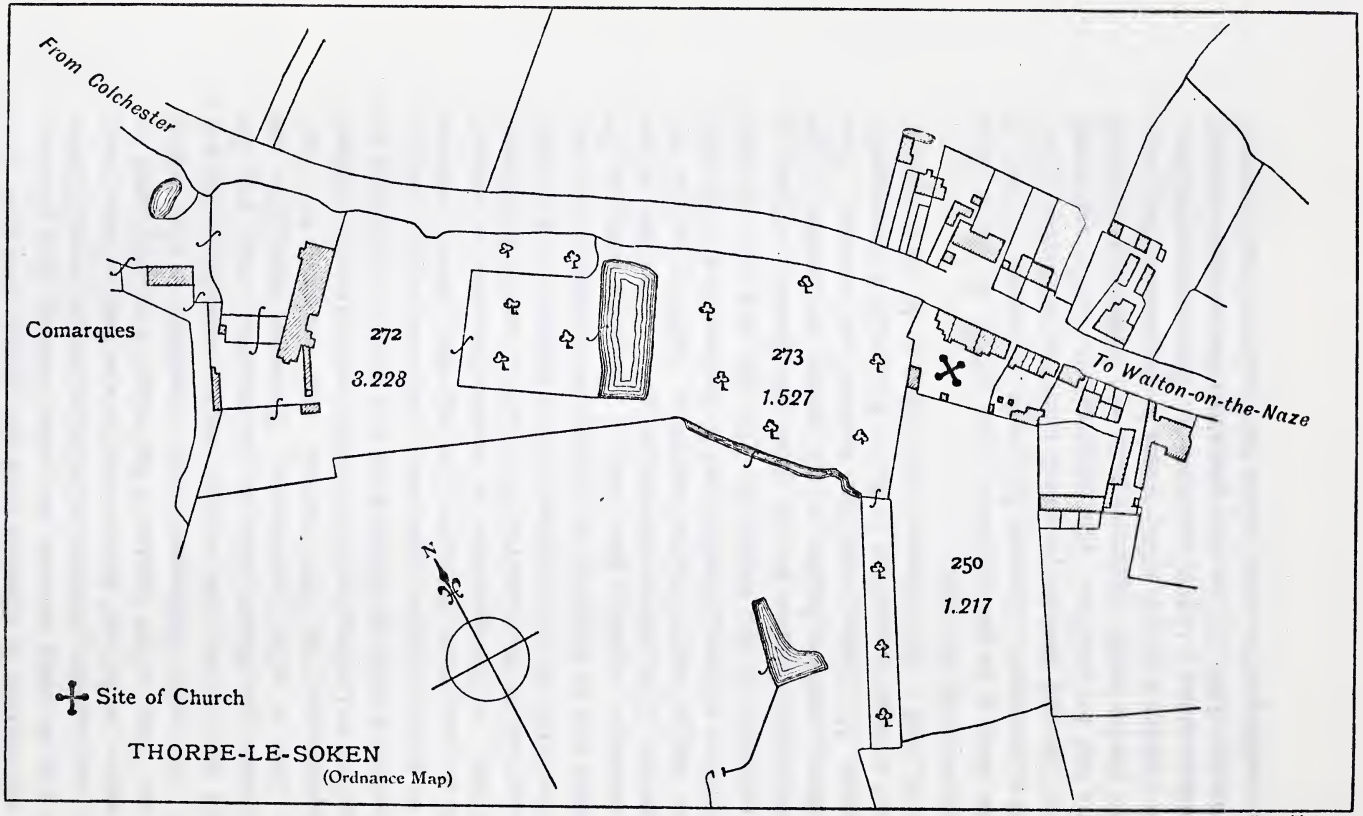
of the Church. The building mentioned as 'belonging to the Church of England' was no doubt the old 'workhouse,' the memory of which still lingers on in the place.

The purchase was confirmed at a court held at Kirby in the following year, as usual on St. Anne's Day (July 26), when Green surrendered part of a pightle in Thorpe, said to abut north on the highway and south on a pale-fence recently erected, the length from one end to the other being 161 feet; the eastern boundary being John Bernard's orchard, and the western one abutting on a hedge and ditch. The chapel is said to be in course of erection ('aedificatur'), and the grant is made to Alexander Sasserie.

Mr. Burn in his account says that the land was held of the manor of Kirby; but this was not so. The courts for Walton, Thorpe, and Kirby, were held at the latter place, and an unusual phrase is found in the surrender, which is described as taking place in 'a full and competent court' ('in plena necnon apta Curia'), held in the names of Earl Rivers and Reginald Bretland, joint lords, with no mention of Mr. Wharton.[1] Access to the rolls and court-books having been kindly accorded me by my friend, Mr. G. F. Beaumont, F.S.A., I have been enabled to trace the subsequent dealings with the land and to identify it with a plot at the north-western end of the village street. The actual site is indicated by a cross on the accompanying plan, which also shows the position of Comarques.

To return, however, to the 'Actes.' On September 13, 1685, at a Consistory reinforced by the principal heads of families. M. Sasserie, who was going to London on business, was asked to see the Bishop once again in order to ask his instructions and protection. There were difficulties, it seems, both with Mr. Battersby, who claimed to be Ordinary of the parish and Commissary of Lord Rivers, and to have the right to give licences either to build a chapel or to hold services in one; and also with Mr. Lisle (the vicar), who claimed fees which the refugees did not think that French Protestants paid in other parts of the kingdom. The envoy returned quickly,

[1] The courts for all manors in the 'soke' were, Morant says, held at Kirby, as being the central one.



Emery Walker sc.

BASED UPON THE ORDNANCE SURVEY MAP,
WITH THE SANCTION OF THE CONTROLLER OF H. M. STATIONERY OFFICE

and on October 5 reported that the Bishop said that they were free to build on their site what building they pleased; and, touching the consecration of it, he himself would discuss the matter with Lord Rivers when it was finished and ready for use. But, in the matter of the vicar's fees, they must be paid. For only Parliament could constitute a new parish within an old one, and as this 'august assembly' had not established the French Church, the members must pay the same dues as other parishioners. December brought a sad disappointment, for MM. Severin and Sasserie, who had again been to London, reported on their return that Dr. Tenison had returned them the roll of lords and gentry, saying that he was so much occupied with other charitable affairs that he could not undertake to procure the help they hoped to receive from him. At the same time M. Sasserie produced an account showing that he had received 70*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*, and had disbursed 68*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.*, leaving a balance in his hands of 1*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.*, to which was to be added M. Bruloz's subscription of 1*l.*, not yet received. Another loss befel at the same time, in the resignation of his churchwardenship by M. de la Clide, whose affairs obliged him to move elsewhere. Before going he too rendered an account, showing that he had received 5*l.* 0*s.* 5¾*d.* and expended 2*l.* 3*s.*, leaving 2*l.* 17*s.* 5¾*d.* in hand. He was affectionately thanked for his good and faithful services to the church, and the balance of the money was handed to his colleague, M. Olivier, who also rendered an account. This showed receipts amounting to 4*l.* 9*s.* 6½*d.*, with disbursements of 2*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*; the balance over, added to M. de la Clide's, amounted to 4*l.* 18*s.* 2¼*d.*

On June 6 in the following year (1686) M. de la Clide found a successor in Jacques Le Gendre, a native of Caen, of whom it is said that he possessed ability accompanied by an ardent zeal for religion. The congregation, highly approving of the choice made, apparently by the Consistory, invested M. Le Gendre with the office, which he promised to fulfil in a Christian manner ('Chrestiennement'). Some six months later, in February 1687, M. Sasserie presented the accounts relating to the building of the chapel which the Consistory had examined

and signed. These showed receipts amounting to 18*l.* 16*s.* 5*d.*, and an expenditure of 78*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.*, leaving 60*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* due to M. Sasserie. On this no comment is made ; but rather more than a month later the heads of families assembled to consider the means of finishing the building already begun. It was admitted that their funds were exhausted, nay more, that they were in debt ; so it was agreed to invite pious and charitable persons to help them, the minister and M. Sasserie being named as collectors, and asked to be good enough to set about the work without delay.

We may suppose that the scheme prospered, for on the next occasion the heads of houses were convoked to consider the question of benches, or pews, in the new chapel. After mature consideration it was decided, in order to avoid the disputes for places ('contestations, debats, querelles, et autres desordres') which had often been noticed in some churches, to make all the seats equal and to make them common to all ('de les rendre communs'), so that anyone might sit where he found an empty place, no one being able to claim precedence. But in order to preserve the order and propriety required in the house of God, the men were required to take seats on one side and the women on the other, so that there might be neither confusion nor scandal in the church. If, however, any families wished to retain a particular seat, they might do so, provided that it was granted and marked by the Consistory ; and in this case men and women might sit together. If they wished, further, to enclose their seats, they might do so at their own expense, provided that no one was inconvenienced. It was finally provided that if a family left the congregation all its rights should revert to the Consistory. So important was this somewhat contradictory arrangement considered that thirteen signatures are appended to the record of it. Shortly afterwards M. Sasserie made request for a private seat, which was willingly granted, and thanks were offered to him for all the care and trouble he had taken about the construction of the chapel. The seat, we learn later, was opposite to that of the minister's family, which was decided on at the same time. Following on that entry is one, dated a few days later, which

records that Mr. Battersby, the Commissary of Lord Rivers, having given a licence to hold public services in the now completed chapel, the minister began to preach there on Sunday, March 4, 1688. Three days later M. Sasserie presented his accounts, when it was found that he had a balance in hand of 2*l.* 15*s.*, which he paid over. He also handed in the two 'rôlles' of the collection made towards the building fund, one of parchment, the other of paper; Mr. Wharton's grant of land on the waste; the Bishop's licence to build; and the deed relating to the site of the chapel, with the lord's receipts for his dues, signed by Charles Richardson. A general account, with details, he put in some weeks later, and, being found in accordance with the vouchers, it was duly passed. At the same time M. Le Gendre, the churchwarden, rendered his account and was found to have 2*l.* 7*s.* 4½*d.* in hand, which he engaged to pay to the Consistory when called on. At the same time it was agreed that any money received later should remain in the hands of the minister.

The next entry relating to the church occurs on September 26, 1699, when Jacques Nivard, a blacksmith, having come to set up in Thorpe and failed to find a shop suitable for his calling, asked leave to build one at his own cost in some part of the chapel court, on the roadside. A small site was fixed on adjoining the gate, on the right as one went in from the street, containing four rods or perches, more or less, bounded by a little elm-tree, the nearest to the gate and planted in the walk leading to the chapel ('planté sur l'allée comme on va à ladite chappelle'). The rent fixed was 1*s.* a year, payable at Michaelmas. The tenant further agreed to inclose the ground by a hedge, or otherwise, and also to give free passage over it when required, for the entry or exit from the court or chapel of horse, cart, or carriage. Nivard, having represented that he had not the money wherewith to build, had granted him then and there a loan of 40*s.*, he giving a bond to secure repayment in seven years, with interest at the rate of five per cent., and executing a mortgage on the shop. A lease for twenty-one years was granted, a condition being that Nivard should neither sell nor let the demised premises without the approval and

consent of the minister and churchwardens of the French church. Nivard, the minister, and the churchwardens all signed the minute. Perhaps the manor-court had something to say later to all this transaction of copyhold business in the Consistory, but no hint of it appears in the Minute-Book. A lapse of seven years occurs and then the silence is broken by the insertion, under the date September 1706, of an account of the expenses incurred for the repair of the chapel, when the rent of the courtyard is set down as 8*s*. and Nivard has vanished; but this, with other matters of account, I leave over for the present moment. A still longer silence precedes the entry, on April 22, 1722, of the particulars relating to further repairs. Others were executed between 1723 and 1726, when our record comes abruptly to an end. The cost of these repairs will be dealt with together later on.

The material for the concluding chapter in the history of the building erected under such difficult circumstances is found in a few stray papers in the Thorpe church-chest and in the court-rolls of the manor. We have seen how the lord of the soke of St. Paul, as successor of the ancient ecclesiastical owners, had his own officials, and it is to a charge which one of these, when Surrogate, delivered on May 6, 1752, at what he styles 'this Annual Court,' that we owe our knowledge of the fate of the church. Addressing himself to the churchwardens of Thorpe, he speaks of the recent demolition of a chapel set apart for the service of God and asks them to inquire: (1) Whether the chapel was ever consecrated; (2) Whether it was ever taken up in the manor-court and in whose name; (3) Who undertook the disposal of it; (4) Who were concerned in its devastation. He points out to them that if it was consecrated the destroyers had incurred ecclesiastical penalties; and if not, the matter was cognisable in the Court Baron, by which they might find themselves obliged to rebuild what they had 'in their wantonness pulled down.' To this the churchwardens responded by presenting James Grelett and James Rosero for pulling down the French chapel, and the matter was referred to the next Court Baron, as one would anticipate, since no reference to consecration (except a casual mention of

it in a letter from the Bishop) is made in the Minutes of the Consistory. The next court was held in July, at which were presented the deaths of Catherine Canham,[1] late wife of Henry Alexander Gough, clerk, and of Alexander Sasserie (who figures as 'Sorcery' on the roll). Proclamation having been made at this court, and in two successive years, without the appearance of any claimant to the land, it was, in 1755, made the subject of a fresh grant to one Jacob Thorpe. In view of the blacksmith's shop mentioned earlier, it is interesting to note that Thorpe's son was admitted in 1782 to a moiety of a parcel late waste of the manor (five rods), abutting east on the workhouse, and west and north on the highway, and south upon certain premises 'now or late called the French Chapple ground,' with the moiety of a tenement and a blacksmith's shop thereupon sometime built by his grandfather, Edward Pascall. From this it would seem that the grant to Nivard, already cited, did come before the manor-court; but to ascertain this it would be necessary to search the rolls. I, however, incline to think that a strip of waste lying between the road and the gate of the French chapel court is implied.

Having thus traced the history of the material building from its foundation to its fall, it behoves us to consider those who worshipped in it. M. Severin, its founder and first pastor, left before its completion, and went to minister at Greenwich, where in all probability John Evelyn heard him preach.[2] He received from the congregation a 'themoignage' to the effect that they had been entirely satisfied with his services; that he had always preached with edification; that his life and

[1] 'Kitty Canham,' the tragedy of whose life is recounted in the *Essex Review*, vol. xii, pp. 1–12; which also contains a reproduction of the portrait now in the possession of Lord Rosebery.

[2] '1687, 24 April. At Greenwich, at the conclusion of the Church service, there was a French sermon preach'd after the use of the English Liturgy translated into French, to a congregation of about 100 French Refugees, of whom M. Ruvigny was the cheife, and had obtain'd the use of the Church after the Parish service was ended. The Preacher patheticaly exhorted to patience, constancy, and reliance on God amidst all their sufferings, and the infinite rewards to come.' (Evelyn's *Diary*.) The passage is illuminating as to similar services at Thorpe. Other entries in the *Diary* show the interest excited by the sufferings of the persecuted Protestants.

manners during his ministry among them had been blameless; and that they wished him good success in all his plans. On the same occasion (February 27, 1687) the churchwarden, Jacques Le Gendre, reported the result of certain negotiations with a Monsieur Mestayer, who had stated that he should have no objection ('qu'il ne repugneroit pas') to come and exercise his ministry in Thorpe, and the congregation thoroughly acquiesced in a call ('vocation') which had been sent to him. This he accepted, and, arriving on April 19, he began his ministry on the 24th. In November we read that the communion-cup and patens were put into his custody; in the following year, as we have seen, all the deeds and documents relating to the church were handed to him; and very soon afterwards it was found more convenient that all money thereafter received should remain in his hands, he to render account. Meanwhile his stipend became a matter of anxiety, and he and M. Sasserie were deputed to go to London and pray the Committee to consider the poverty of the church, which could not maintain its own minister, and to consent to continue the subvention hitherto granted, if they had the means. Failing the Committee, they were instructed to seek the advice and help of the Bishop of London. What came of this does not immediately appear; but in the following February (1688) we find the heads of families deciding that MM. Sasserie and Pontardant should call on each member of the church to learn what he was willing to contribute quarterly, and then make a list, showing the amounts. They were also asked to collect arrears. No wonder that they gladly gave M. Sasserie a faculty-pew! He had earned it by his continual services. In May the assembled elders, in view of the fact that the subvention had been reduced by the Committee from 40*l.* to 33*l.* and some shillings, on which the minister could not exist, begged M. Sasserie to write and point out the reasons why the amount should be restored, and at the same time to beg them, if they wished to send families to establish themselves in the village, to provide them with the means of subsistence, and not to send them, as they had previously done, totally unprovided with money. These people, they add, found themselves in great misery, and some

there were who for six weeks had been a charge on the minister of the congregation, nothing having been sent for them. They mention in particular a family, comprising mother and father, both ill, with three children, one still at the breast, and the eldest only six years old ; and a poor widow with three children, the youngest two years and a half old, and ill.

In June the reply to M. Sasserie's letter was read in the Consistory. In it the Commissioners reaffirmed their inability to make any change in the matter of the reduction of the stipend ; whereupon it was decided to approach the distributors of the collection and set forth the grounds for putting matters on their former footing. Once again M. Sasserie was appointed their deputy and asked, if he was unsuccessful in getting this decision changed, to try, in his wisdom ('selon sa prudence') to find some means of maintaining the minister. In the following September he reported that he had gone to London, but, owing to the absence in the country of nearly all the distributors, he was obliged to defer the execution of his mission. He further reported that, in addition to the retrenchment of one sixth made in January, a fourth part of what remained had now been cut off and the stipend reduced to 25*l.* per annum. M. Mestayer thereupon stated that it was absolutely impossible for him to live on such a small income, and asked permission to resign ('de se pourvoir ou La Providence de Dieu l'addresseroit'). The Consistory, however, begged him to wait until M. Sasserie had made another journey to London to beg the distributors, in view of the congregation's situation, to restore the stipend to its original amount. This he agreed to do, and there, so far as the Minutes go, the matter ended ; but at the time of his death, which is, strangely enough, recorded neither in the French nor English Register, he was still in office, and we may assume that, in some way or other, means were found to increase his stipend. There is some evidence that about that time the congregation increased in numbers and, it may be, the newcomers were less poverty-stricken. But in 1695 M. Mestayer's position was evidently again a difficult one, as appears from a letter indited in that year. Writing under date December 10, Mr. William Burkitt, of

Dedham, replies thus to a letter received from the Bishop of London :

'I sent for the french min. to my house and upon my assuring of him that I would improve my utmost interest for him in procuring him cheese etc. towards his substance, he gave me his hands upon it that he would still continue to exercise his ministry constantly and conscientiously amongst his people, so that I hope that affair is settled fully to your Lordship's satisfaction.' [1]

The wording of the letter is odd. One would expect rather 'bread and cheese'; but the transcript is correct.

To M. Mestayer succeeded M. Gabriel Colin, who signs the Minutes for the first time on December 11, 1707, when Madame Mestayer, the widow, handed over the balance of church money remaining in her hands, amounting to 2*l.* 19*s.* 0¼*d.* In April, 1715, M. Colin announced his intention of withdrawing to London and received from the Consistory a testimonial couched in the form of that given twenty years earlier to M. Severin. The next entry in the book, which is dated April 22, 1722, is signed by Claude Richier, minister, who, as M. Richet, occurs in the Royal Bounty list in 1717 as receiving 30*l.*, which was to be paid only so long as he served the church of Thorpe; but there is no entry relating to his appointment, and none as to his death. His burial is, however, recorded in the Parish Church Register as having taken place on March 12, 1726. The Vicar General and Official Principal of the lord of the soke, in reporting his death to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London (whom he regarded as 'the most proper persons to provide a proper successor and ensure to him the accustomed salary'), represented that 'most of the French congregation were instructed in the English tongue sufficiently to attend Divine Service in the parish church, or churches, in the places of their respective residences.' And so 'nothing was done and all farther motions with regard to the future performance of Divine Service in the said chapel ceased.' The

[1] Bodl. Library. Rawlinson, C 983, f. 145 (*Papers of Bishop Compton*). For this reference, and several others, I am indebted to Monsieur Ascoli, of Nantes.

chapel itself, as we have seen, remained standing until 1752; and, although no services were held, it may have served for meetings of a shadowy Consistory, convened as we shall see later, if it was convened at all, merely to distribute alms provided from some central source. An abortive attempt to transfer the building to the vicar and churchwardens for use as a school seems to have been made some time between 1725 and 1749.[1]

Having thus traced the rise and fall of the material building, and given some brief account of those who ministered in it, it remains to say something of the other activities of the Consistory which represented the congregation. That this had its troubles goes without saying, and they were of diverse sorts. On May 22, 1685, the Consistory appears under its disciplinary aspect, when Jeanne Brochot, champenoise, Madelaine Pesche, wife of Samuel Courcelles, and Suzanne Houzelle, wife of Paul Cahais, were censured for disseminating divers calumnies against the honour and good name of M. Severin, the pastor, and of the Widow Darcy. From these aspersions the pastor fully cleared himself, and the guilty ones, admitting their fault, asked pardon for it. The entry is signed by the two *anciens,* Jean Delestrille de la Clide and Daniel Olivier.

Not a month later M. Severin reported that, in passing through Colchester, he had learned from one of the Colchester clergy that enemies were spreading false reports about the French folk, as though they were disloyal to the King and favoured the rebel party. It was thereupon decided that Mr. Joshua Lisle, Vicar of Thorpe, should be asked to accompany MM. de la Clide and de Maisonneuve to Colchester to prove their innocence and place in the hands of the justices the following minute, drawn up by Mr. Lisle, and signed by themselves, protesting their fidelity to the King and the government. A copy of this was also sent to the Bishop of London, begging his protection in the matter. A French translation of the resolution of the meeting of French Protestants at Thorpe, who thereby as a body protested their zeal

[1] *Thorpe-le-Soken Parish Papers.*

for the King's service, follows, and I retranslate it. 'This present declaration is to make known to all whom it may concern that we, the French Protestants above mentioned, affirm by these presents our readiness very speedily and voluntarily to serve his Majesty, James II, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc., and to venture our lives and our goods against James Scott, late Duke of Monmouth, and all other traitors, rebels, and enemies of the King and kingdom of England. In evidence of which we have appended our signatures this 21st day of June, 1685. Jean Severin, Jean Delestrille de la Clide, Daniel Olivier, Roquier Puiechegut, Pontardant, Plancq, de la Porte, Samuel de Courcelles, Jean Sionneau, P. Potier, Maria, Bonnet, Messien, Benjamin Turquain.'[1] The Bishop of London, on receiving this document, expressed his satisfaction and wrote as follows to the Mayor of Colchester (Mr. Stilleman) on June 23 :

'Sir,—I am sorry to hear that some poor Protestant conformist refugees ('qui sont absolument conformes à l'Église Anglicane'), who make a sincere declaration of their loyalty, are nevertheless, as I hear, persecuted. This must needs proceed from some spirit of fanaticism, and I accordingly beg you to appease this, in order that we may not be obliged to trouble the King on the matter, and you will oblige, Sir, Your very assured Friend and Servant, H. London [H. de Londres].'

In addition to waiting on the Bishop, the deputies from the congregation went to see Sir Thomas Clarges, a member of Parliament, to whom they represented the injustice of the calumnies by which ill-disposed people tried to blacken the refugees and render their loyalty suspect. In response to their request Sir Thomas gave them a letter of recommendation to Nathanael Laurence, one of the members for Colchester. In this, having set forth that the refugees had, as it appeared, been lately troubled by certain constables and officers of Colchester, he went on to say that the King had recently sent his (Sir Thomas's) son into the west country, with some

[1] This declaration is included in the *Compton Papers* (Bodl., Rawlinson, C. 983, f. 89).

troops on his Majesty's service, and, in his absence, Sir Thomas expressed the wish that Mr. Laurence would do all he could for these unfortunate people. The late King, he said, had, by a public proclamation, invited all the poor Protestants who wished to do so to take refuge in England, promising them his protection, with many liberties and immunities, in order to encourage them; and it had pleased his present Majesty to recommend them to Parliament for several privileges. It would therefore be a kindly act to cause the ill-disposed to recognise their error in not treating them well. And this, he concluded, was what he energetically desired of Mr. Laurence.

The two letters were handed open to the deputies, and, having been read to the meeting, were sent on to the addressees. On July 8, MM. de la Clide and Olivier, who were charged with their delivery, reported that Mr. Stilleman, the Mayor, had promised them his protection wherever his powers extended; while Mr. Laurence, M.P., and Mr. Motte, a justice of the peace, had jointly written to tell Mr. Lisle, the vicar, to make known, in all the parishes of which he was vicar, the King's intention to protect the French refugees, being convinced of their loyalty. The Mayor and Mr. Motte further expressed their determination to see them righted whenever they were wronged. And there the matter seems to have ended; for no more complaints are recorded on the one side or the other.

While the deputies from the congregation were in London, another grievance came to light. They discovered, apparently to their surprise, that the Consistory of the Savoy Chapel was applying to Parliament, not for a general Act of Naturalisation, but only for that of particular persons, in virtue, as they maintained, of a proclamation of Charles II, of glorious memory, dated July 28 (? September 7), 1681. This set the deputies on a perusal of the proclamation itself, when they found the promise much wider in its scope than was alleged, in that it promised the Royal recommendation of an Act for gratuitous general naturalisation.[1] Thereupon they consulted

[1] See *Proc. Hug. Soc.* vii, 113 *et seq.*, where the Order in Council of September 1681 is printed in full.

several peers, who told them to proceed, and promised their protection. Accordingly, after presenting a very humble request on the subject to the King, they presented another to the House of Commons, by the hand of Sir [William] Temple, praying that august assembly to make a free grant of naturalisation to all their poor brethren, wherever they might betake themselves in the King's dominions. This request was ratified ('enterinée') and leave was given them to introduce a Bill to that effect. After their return to Thorpe they were notified that the Bill had passed its second reading, having been read for the first time on Monday, June 21, and secondly on Wednesday, July 1. A committee had been appointed to examine it; but, Parliament having been adjourned, there would be some delay. In December MM. Severin and Sasserie, having returned from a second visit to London, reported that. Parliament having been prorogued, they had perforce to leave the matter alone until a fresh Parliament met. The further history of the matter must be sought elsewhere, our own record being thereafter silent on the point. M. Severin, who was, one thinks, a strong man, left soon afterwards, and from that time the Minutes cease to deal with other than purely local matters.[1]

From an entry made in March 1689 it appears that several families had lately come to settle among the congregation, bringing no certificates of their religion, life, or morals with them (as the custom was), and had presented themselves at the Communion without furnishing evidence that they were free from censure ('ne sont point en scandale'). In order to avert the surprises and abuses which might occur under such circumstances, the Consistory decided that, in future, newcomers should only be admitted to communicate after exhibiting certificates or providing sufficient proof that they were not unworthy to approach the Table of the Lord; and the Consistory further decided that, in order to guard against disorders, the practice of all the other French churches should be introduced, and each communicant obliged to take a

[1] M. Severin is mentioned in 1695, and described as being fifty-five years old, and married. (P.R.O., *Treas. Papers*, xxxv, No. 7.)

'marreau' (*i.q.* méreau), or token, to be handed to one of the *anciens* who, during the Communion service, would stand near the Table to receive them. The tokens were distributed on the morning of Sacrament-Sunday, in the church porch, and every one was urged to bring then his quarterly contribution, in accordance with the Minute drawn up by the heads of families in February, 1688, together with any arrears owing. It would be interesting to know how this extremely ingenious arrangement worked, but no subsequent entry throws any light on it.

Eleven years later there was trouble as to the distribution of the money sent from London, and on January 3, 1699, we find the Consistory taking the matter in hand. Some complained that they were overlooked, and others, who had been assisted, said they had received nothing. So, in order to take away all pretext for complaint, it was settled that, when there was any money to distribute, a notice should be posted, and then those who were qualified to be recipients should tell the minister or one of the *anciens*, and they, knowing in this way the need and the condition of each, by his own confession, would make the distribution as fairly as possible, in accordance with the known circumstances of different individuals. This decision was quickly followed by an entry of a distribution made on the 17th. These distributions continued for over sixty years, as will be seen on reference to an appendix at the end of this paper.

An odd little episode, not entirely comprehensible, marks the year 1692. In 1690 the Surveyors of Highways seem to have proceeded against M. François Pontardant and several other members of the congregation living in the parish. Pontardant is said to have been several times successful in defending himself against the claims of the Surveyors, when he appeared before the local bench, which ordered the restitution of a gun seized in execution. The Surveyors, however, declined to comply with the order, so that in order to obtain justice Pontardant was compelled to have recourse to legal proceedings. Viewing the matter not only as an injustice done to a particular member of the congregation but as one done in general to the whole body, by reason of the hatred ('haine')

which certain individuals in the parish felt for the resident refugees, the Consistory, in order to prevent the annoyances which might in future be engineered against them, decided to help in bringing the matter to trial by using some of the church funds to help their brother, M. Pontardant. on the condition that, if he recovered costs against his opponents, he should repay the money lent him. One fears that the welcome which the strangers received in out-of-the-way villages was not so warm as that accorded them in high places, and they were much at a disadvantage in such affairs as the present one. It looks as though M. Pontardant had refused to pay a highway rate; but, in that case, it is hard to see why the bench decided in his favour. As no further mention of the matter is made, we are left in uncertainty as to the final upshot.

Among the Minutes are found, as is usual, some 'Abjurations.' Of these the first is that of Jacques Hannier, of Jonquieres in Picardy, aged twenty-six, who had for some time given marks of his zeal by his constant attendance at the holy assemblies ('nos saintes assemblées'), and also special evidence of his knowledge and sincerity. He had had the misfortune to be born in the Roman Church, the errors of which he abjured, and the communion and false services of which he now renounced, protesting his desire to live and die in the holy reformed religion, as freely exercised in England. In 1689 we have the abjurations of two persons with whom the Marriage Register of the church has already made some of us acquainted. François Marchand, aged twenty-three, of Monsegut, in Bazadois, came before the Consistory and declared his intention of abjuring the heresies of the Church of Rome and embracing Protestantism. The importance of the matter having been urged on him, together with the need of instructing himself more and more in the knowledge of the doctrine taught in conformity with the Word of God, he was allowed to make his profession of faith and his renunciation of Roman errors. On the same day Demoiselle Henriette Vincent, of Sainte Foy in Agenois, confessed the sin she had committed in France by being hypocritically present at Mass. The Consistory, having impressed on her the gravity of her offence

and exhorted her to give evidence of her true repentance by the goodness of her life, admitted her profession of faith, she promising never to give her adherence in any way to any Roman worship, service, or doctrine. M. Marchand had made his 'mark,' but the lady signs herself 'Enne de vincent.'

The next abjuration takes a slightly different form, when, in 1696, Samuel Cornet and Judith Nortier, his wife, publicly gave glory to God by admitting the sin ('en reconoissant la faute et reparant le scandale') they had committed in France by abjuring their own holy religion and making profession of that of Rome. They promised, with God's help, to remain in the Protestant faith until their lives' end ('jusques au dernier soupir de leur vie'), and were accordingly received into the peace of the Church and all its benefits. In May, 1701, Guillaume du Fresne, of the province of Picardy, wishing to renounce the errors and superstitions of the Roman Church, with all her doctrines in so far as they are contrary to God's Word, and to embrace the holy Protestant religion, made a public abjuration and promised to live in accordance with the doctrines of the reformed faith. The form in this case varies, and it is noteworthy that there is a tacit admission that the Roman Church is not wholly compounded of error and superstition. The neophyte also promised 'de se conformer de tout son pouvoir aux saintes exhortations qui sont contenues dans la Parole de Dieu, comme aussi de se soumettre a la Discipline exercee parmi nous, et de faire tous les autres devoirs d'un bon et veritable Chrêtien.'

Poor as the congregation seems to have been, it at any rate on two occasions contributed to the needs of others. Once, in 1699, 2*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* was collected for the persecuted Vaudois and French Protestants, in pursuance of a royal brief, and paid over to the vicar, Mr. Joshua Lisle, for him to remit with his own collection to those in charge of the fund. Again, in 1704, 1*l.* 2*s.* was given, in response to another brief, to a fund raised for the poor persecuted Protestants in the principality of Orange. On this occasion the money was handed to Mr. Hunt, the new vicar.

The accounts of receipts and expenditure as recorded on the Minutes are, for the most part, very meagre. M. Sasserie's

account of the expenses incurred on his journeys on behalf of the congregation has been already given, as also his building accounts, from which it appears that the chapel cost just under 150*l.*; but no details are recorded. In 1688 we find him handing over to the minister, together with duplicate lists of subscriptions, one being on parchment, a balance of 2*l.* 15*s.* on the building fund; this M. Mestayer spent in the same year, and the account was closed. It was reopened in 1706, when the chapel was repaired. The account includes also the general expenditure of the years which had elapsed since the last one was rendered. As it throws some light on the nature of the building, and on the use made of the forecourt, I print it.

MEMOIRE DES FRAIS FAITS POUR LES REPARATIONS DE NOTRE CHAPPELLE AU MOIS DE SEPTEMBRE, 1706.

Payé a Jacques de Mede . . . pour avoir recloüé un des cotez de la barriere de la cour et y avoir mis deux paulis neuf, un autre derriere lad. Chappelle et rattaché une des cordes des contrevents . .	00	01	2½
Payé pour 20 boisseaux de chaux	00	15	0
Payé pour un tomberellée de sable	00	02	0
Payé pour 9 boisseaux de poil a Izaak Peagrom selon sa quittance	00	07	6
Payé pour 100 tuilles de Hollande avec le port de Wivenhoe a Thorp	00	10	0
Payé a Thomas Thurston charpenter selon sa quittance au pied de son memoire	04	02	0
A James Peck masson selon sa quittance . . .	02	03	10½
Payé au susdit Thomas Thurston pour un autre marché selon sa quittance	00	08	0
Audit Thurston pour 3 boisseaux de chaux . .	00	02	0
A la Dame Espinasse pour des cloux pour tout le susdit ouvrage suivant la quittance	00	07	7
Pour des pentures pour pendre la barriere du porche .	00	01	4
Pour un cadenas et un crampon pour fermer laditte barriere	00	00	7
En tout	9	01	1
Deboursé sur le livre de conte : le tout . . .	38	06	6½
Tout le deboursé .	47	07	7½

Par moy HENRY MESTAYER.

MEMOIRE DE L'ARGENT QUE MOY HENRY MESTAYER AY RECEU DEPUIS LE CONTE FAIT LE 19e DE MAY, 1689.

Par led. conte je reste [redevable]	4	15	5
Depuis led. conte receu à la porte	42	04	9¼
Receu de Henry Bourne pour une année de la rente de la cour de la chappelle	00	08	0
De Samuel Arnold pour une année de la rente de la cour	00	09	0
D'Edward Bloss pour une année de la rente de la boutique batie dans la cour	00	08	0
Receu cydevant de Monsieur Alexandre Sassarie pour ayder aux reparations de la chapelle . . .	01	10	0
Somme totale .	£49	15	2¼

This account, when balanced, shows 2*l.* 7*s.* 6¾*d.* as due from the treasurer, and just a year afterwards Madame Mestayer, the minister's widow, handed over to the *anciens* 2*l.* 19*s.* 0¼*d.*, the amount found, on balance, to be due to the church. Not until 1713 did the new minister, M. Colin, present an account, and then it was found that the church owed him 3*s.* 1½*d.* In 1714 and 1715 the receipts and expenditure were said to balance each other, and a silence of seven years follows.

In April, 1722, M. Richier records that some time previously, the chapel being in urgent need of repair, a collection for the purpose had been made in London, to which both the French churches and pious and charitable individuals had contributed. The sum collected, 32*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*, was placed in the hands of a certain M. Brassard, on whose death his widow transferred the money to M. de Comarque, who here makes his first appearance in the Minute-Book.[1] On this occasion he presented his

[1] A pedigree of the Comarque family is given in *Misc. Gen. et Her.*, iv, i, p. 315. From this it appears that John Comarque was a captain in the British service who was naturalised by Act of Parliament in 1706. He married Isabeau Bories and left issue. His will (*P.C.C.* 6 Greenly) was proved on January 18, 1749. From this it appears that he was buried at Wandsworth, beside his wife. He mentions his cousin, Mary Pechelvet, and bequeathed 20*l.* to the support of the French church at Wandsworth. After payment of various legacies the residue fell to his daughter-in-law, Henriette, widow of his son, David, and his granddaughters, Mary and Ester. The will was 'faithfully

accounts, showing that he had paid away 29*l.* 8*s.* The next entry refers to various small payments made by him, between 1722 and 1726, for repairing the courtyard gate, mending the tiled roof, &c., the whole amounting to 2*l.* 11*s.* And then, with an entry dated August 8, 1726, the record comes to an end. On that day Monsieur de Comarque rendered an account of the whole sum received by him, and handed over a balance of 19*s.* 6*d.* to Jacques Rougereau, who promised to keep it for the repair of the church, when the minister, *anciens*, and principal members of the congregation found it necessary. On the same occasion Rougereau also received from him 18*s.* 6¾*d.*, taken out of the boxes in the church. This amount it was agreed should be applied to the same purpose as the other, and the arrangement was confirmed by the signatures of Samuel Barbat; J. Grellet, *ancien*; and Jacque Rougereau.

The *anciens*, or churchwardens, during the period with which we have been dealing, were: Jean de Lestrille, Sieur de la Clide, 1684–5; Daniel Olivier, 1684–7; Jacques Le Gendre, 1685–1712; François Pontardant, 1687–(?)1695; Izaac Plancq and Jean Louchet were elected as supernumeraries in 1695, and the latter held office till 1728; J. Grellet, who is also styled *lecteur*, came into office in 1712 and quitted it in 1746.

APPENDICES.

I.

At the other end of the Minute-Book there is an account of charitable payments made over a period of sixty-four years, beginning with January 17, 1699, and ending August 16, 1763.[1] The heading on p. 1 runs thus: 'Account of the distribution of 9*l.* sterling sent us for the poor of this congregation ['troupeau'] by Mr. Jean Braguier

translated out of French,' by P. Crespigny, notary public. The Registers of Wandsworth, Surrey (Harl. Soc., 1889), contain these entries:—

'August 5, 1731. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Comarque, bur.'

'July 13, 1742. Dr. Renald Comarque, physician, from London, bur. 43.'

'January 6, 1749. Captain John Comarque, 92.'

[1] The opening of these accounts followed closely on complaints of the way in which the charity-money was distributed. See an entry in the Minutes of the Consistory, dated January 3, 1699, on p. 287, *ante*.

in December last, which distribution was made as follows by us the undersigned on January 17, 1698–9: H. Mestayer, Minister; Jean Louchet, *Ancien*; Jacque Legendre, *Ancien*.'[1] Fifteen recipients are named, two being children of a deceased parent, and three being wayfarers. The sums allotted varied: 15*s.*, 12*s.*, 10*s.*, 5*s.*, 6*d.* being given to individuals; 20*s.* to the children; and 2*s.*, 1*s.* 6*d.*, and 1*s.*, to the wayfarers. About one-half were illiterates; the others signed, for the most part, with some difficulty.

The amounts and the dates of reception varied, as also did the sources whence the money is said to be derived. In 1699, 23*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* was distributed; in 1700, only 5*l.*; in 1701, 13*l.* 10*s.*; from 1702 to 1710 there was a fixed allowance of 18*l.* per annum; in 1711, 9*l.*; in 1712, 4*l.* 10*s.*; and in 1713 only 2*l.* 5*s.* was available. But the last year is marked by a windfall, separately accounted for, to wit, 4*l.* sterling, being a part of the pious legacy of the late M. Alexandre du Rouse, sent by M. Sasserie, one of his executors. The year 1714 yielded but 2*l.* 5*s.*, and then the scale rises again. From 1715 to 1719, 18*l.* a year came in; in 1720, 12*l.* only; but in 1722, 36*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* was received. Thenceforward the sums vary. falling gradually, with a slight occasional increase. From 1728 down to 1745 just over 10*l.* a year was received; in 1746, 6*l.* 14*s.* was divided. Thereafter the sums vary as follows: 1747-50, 3*l.* 7*s.*; 1751–3, 3*l.* 17*s.*; 1753–61, 4*l.* 10*s.*; 1762–3, 3*l.* 10*s.* The sources whence these contributions were derived are variously described after the disappearance of M. Jean Braguier in 1705. In 1707 we find named 'MM. les Commissaires du Comitté Francois.' After 1725 there is no further mention of these Commissaires, and they vanish in an odd way, the entry for 1726 styling them 'les messieurs commis.' In 1730 the formula runs: 'Distribution de la beneficence royale au pauvres francois protestent . . . assigné pour les pauvres de notre eglise pour six mois'; and so it continues until 1761, when 'MM. les distributeurs de la benefecance royale au povre francois refugie de thorp et de londre,' takes its place and continues to the end. For many years the number of the recipients averaged about a dozen, but it gradually fell until, in 1738, four names only occur: Jacques Grellet, the *lecteur*, who was 75 years old; Jacques Grellet, junior, who was 43; Daniel Grellet, 31; and Isaac Ganeau, 38. To Isaac succeeded Madelaine, presumably his widow, in 1746, and

[1] M. Braguier was 'Treasurer of the Committee established by the Lords appointed by the Queen for the direction of collections for the French Protestant Refugees.'. (*Hug. Soc. Proc.* vii, 133.)

she remained a recipient until 1761. Jacques Grellett, *ancien*, vanishes after 1746, and Daniel after 1749, being replaced in 1750 by Charlotte, possibly his widow, who with Jacques, the younger, remained to divide the last 3*l.* 10*s.* received at Thorpe, so far as the book records.

Claude Richier, the last French minister resident in Thorpe, was buried on March 12, 1726, and at that time the Vicar-General, Mr. Gibson, having represented to the Bishop of London that most of the French congregation were sufficiently instructed in English to attend Divine Service in the parish churches, the performance of it in the French chapel came to an end. In the same year the Minutes of the Consistory come also to an end, and that body, if continued, existed only to supervise the distribution of the charity money. Jacques Grellet and Jean Souchet were *anciens* at the time, the one being 63 and the other 86 years old. In the following year Grellet appears as *lecteur*, and as such, or as *ancien*, he remains until he vanishes in 1746, when he would be about 83 years old. Jacques, the younger, who came from France in 1724 at the age of 28, and straightway received alms, withdrew to London at the age of 76. Whether the elder Jacques is identical with the James Grellett who was buried at Thorpe on January 9, 1755, is uncertain: if so, he was over ninety years old, and lived on after he ceased to share in the distributions, which seems improbable, seeing that he had so long enjoyed them. Charlotte Grellet lived on until 1772.

In 1728, when eleven persons shared in the distribution, the scribe departed from tradition and gave particulars as to the ages, occupations, and place of origin of the recipients. Thus we learn that Jacques Grellet (65), the *lecteur*, was a native of Fonverine, in the parish of 'dazai' in Poitou, from which place came also Jacques, the younger, whose wife (35) hailed from Vileneuve, in the parish of Cherveux; both were day-labourers ('hommes de journée'). Jacques Gile (33) came from Nantuil in Brie, but his wife was an Englishwoman; Isaac Rosé (60) was a native of Meaux, his wife (65) of Mareuil, both in Brie. Marie de Riviere (55) was born at Calais and had a daughter of 26, born at Thorpe. Jacob St. Martin (46), a native of Boiragon, in the parish of Brelou, had a wife (32), born at Maseuil in the parish of St. Carlei, in Poitou, and was also a day-labourer. Louis Boissinot (58) came from St. Ane in Poitou, and his wife (55) from Calais; he, too, was a day-labourer. Moses Gile (27) and his three children were all born at Thorpe; his wife (29)

at 'ouvyenau' (Wivenhoe); he was a day-labourer. Natives of Thorpe, too, were Jacques de Mede (38), his wife (37), and their four children, aged 10, 7, and 4 years, and two months, respectively; he was a wheelwright ('charron'). Daniel Grellet was, like his relatives, a native of Dazai and was 31 in 1730; his wife (24) came from Fingrinhoe; he was a day-labourer. In 1735 a new name appears on the list: Isaac Ganeau (30) was a native of Mer, four leagues from Blois; his wife (43) and the three children were all born at Thorpe. As one was fourteen he appears to have married a widow. He was a day-labourer.

In 1738 Jacques Grellet, the *lecteur*, was 75 and unable to work; while Jacques, the younger, was 'a poor day-labourer, much burdened by sickness,' although but 43 years old; and Daniel was in much the same case. After 1742 the scribe came to the conclusion that there was much vain repetition, and the names only are given; but we learn that the money was sent by MM. Pilon and Ogier. The accounts invariably occupy one page, and at the foot occur the signatures, or marks, of the recipients. In 1760 the distribution was made at Thorpe, but in 1761 and thereafter it was made in London, to which the two survivors in the tontine had migrated. I append an alphabetical list of names, with the years during which they figure on the lists.

NAMES OF THOSE WHO SHARED IN THE CHARITABLE DISTRIBUTIONS, 1699–1763.

Benard, Michel, 1699–1707
Boissonau, Louis, 1715–29
Bouchart, Henry, 1717–27
Bousserry, Martin, 1739
Charles, ——, 1726
Collet, Etienne, 1722
Cornet, Samuel, 1699–1707
Darguville, Marie, 1720–2
——— Jean, 1722–3
——— 2 enfans, 1725
Dufour, Abraham, 1702–7
——— Henry, 1722
——— Widow, 1705–7
Francois, D., 1723
Ganeau, Isaac, 1735–46
——— Widow, 1746–61
Gellot, Salomon, 1707 (pour le tirer de prison)
Giles, Jaques, 1728–9
——— Moise, 1707–28
——— le jeune, 1722–32
——— la fille de, 1725
——— Jacques, 1725–8
Godefroy, Simon, 1699–1701
Grellet, Daniel, 1730–49
——— Charlotte, 1750–63
——— Jacques, senr., 1716–46
———, junr., 1725–63
——— Louis, 1717–19
——— la mere de, 1736
——— la veuve de, 1726–8

Husband, Marie, 1725
Ippeau, Pierre, 1729–32 (pour un orphelin)
Lackman, Isaac, 1711–14
Lefevre, Louis, 1719–26
——— for grandson, 1725
Legendre, Jacques, 1708–17
——— Susanne, 1717–18
——— Widow of Jacques, senr., 1715–16
——— Pierre, 1715–16
Lejeune, Jean, 1715
Le Riche, Elie, 1702
Louchet, Jean, 1719–28
Marette, Charles, 1708–28
Mede, Jacques de, 1699–1716
——— Widow of, 1717–28
——— Jacques, junr., 1717–33
——— Widow of, 1734
——— Pierre, 1717
Merceron, Louis, 1699
Mourgue, Jean, 1699
Nivard, Jacques, 1699–1702
Nivard, Jacques, fils de, 1699
Nortier, Magdelaine, veuve Dufour, 1705–7
Picot, Elizabeth, v^ve^, 1699–1704
Plancq, Jean, 1699
Riviere, Abraham de, 1699–1706
——— Widow of, 1708–10 (remarried J. de Mede)
——— Elizabeth de, 1717
——— Daniel de, 1715
——— Orphelins (2), 1709–13
——— Marie de, 1726–37
——— Pierre de, 1701–2
——— Widow of, 1703–14
Robert, Claude, 1699–1701
Rosé, Isaac, 1715–37
Rougereau, Jacques, 1699–1723
St. Martin, Jacob, 1725–31
Sionneau, Jacques, 1708
——— Widow of, 1709–14
Sornet, Michel, 1726–8
Tocq, Jean, 1699–1706
Watté, Pierre, deux filles de, 1699

Passants.

Abraham Ruau, 1699
Jean Lefevre, 1699
Jacques du Bu, 1699
Joseph Savage, 1699
Daniel de Lorne, 1699
Izak Lott, 1699
Daniel Pautonnier, 1699
Claude Bernard, 1699
Quentin Jacqualin, 1700
Jacques Berne, 1700
Ezekiel Flamand, 1701
Jean Rondier, 1701
Un passant, 1717
Etienne Gautier, 1730
Six françois, 1731
Charlotte Vincen, allant en Holande, 1736

II

Wills within the soke were proved in Thorpe Church, and it occurred to me that some made by the French residents would be found in

the Ipswich Registry. A search, however, revealed but two, and those of no striking interest. The earlier one, which is in French, is that of Armand Guinebald, chevalier, Seigneur de la Milliere, etc.: 'estant sain d'esprit, memoire, et entendement mais considerant qu'il n'y a rien plus certain que la mort ny plus incertain que l'heure d'jcele.' He left everything he possessed, after payment of his debts, to Damoiselle Rachel Ammonnet, his wife, whom he made his executrix. The will was signed in London, January 29, 1770-1, the witnesses being Noé Houssarp (? Houssaye), W. Botelen (? Boteler), Notaries; Edw. Johnson; George Wharton.

The other will is that of Jane Espinasse, widow, first of Paul Pottier and then of Pierre Espinasse, both surgeons.[1] She appears to have prospered and became a considerable copyholder in the manor, some fifty acres near the church being hers, with forty acres at Thorpe Cross, and other land in or near Thorpe Street. She names in her will Elias Potter, her son—one sees that he had given up his French name—Anne, his wife, and their four daughters, her own daughter, Jane Dorvesse *alias* Lifegold—'if she shall be living and shall come over into England' within fifteen years of testatrix' death—her grandson, James Dorvesse *alias* Lifegold, Jane's son, her granddaughter, Jane Potter, daughter of her late son, Alexander Potter, her granddaughters, Mary and Susan, other daughters of Alexander, and her grandson, Paul Potter. As executors she appointed Robert Shearcroft and Henry Barnard. 'Dated February 24, 1728. Witnesses: Hen. Hunt, John Newton, James Grellet.'

The *alias* 'Lifegold' is curious. Reference to the Thorpe Register will show that Jeanne Potier married, in 1694, Jacques Darvif. Darvif, which it seems probable should be read 'Dorvif,'[2] suggests the possibility that 'Lifegold' was intended to be an English rendering of the name which, in the will, occurs as 'Dorvesse.' Such attempts at translation were quite common.

Postscriptum.—Any inconsistencies in spelling or irregularities in the use of accents, found in the foregoing account, may rightly be attributed to their prototypes in the original document.

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[1] Thorpe Register, p. 14.

[2] It is so spelt in the Court Rolls on July 26, 1736, when James Dorviff and Jane Newton were admitted under the will of Jeanne Espenasse each to a moiety of the lands at Thorpe Cross.

Memories of Spitalfields.

By W. H. MANCHÉE.

'Tis true, they are not "rich nor rare":
Enough, for me, that they are—there.'

ANDREW LANG.

SPITALFIELDS, despite its surroundings at the present day, is full of fascination and charm. To the stranger it has the attraction of the unknown, a place full of interest, and yet one about which so little has been written. Of the history of this famous old quarter it is impossible to give more than a very brief outline in the limits of this paper, and even confining oneself mainly to the Huguenot period, it is difficult to keep within the prescribed bounds, so many are the items of interest which might be given. Commencing then with the time when London was confined to the City walls, we read that

'on the east side of Bishopsgate Street antiently stood an Hospital dedicated to St. Mary, and called St. Mary Spittle, the grounds of which since the dissolution of the house, have been known by the name of Spittlefeilds.' [1]

Such was the origin of Spitalfields, a name which later on came to be applied to the field beyond, then called Lolesworth, or the Bishop of London's field, the whole forming in time the little hamlet, the predecessor of the home of the Spitalfields weavers.

The actual boundaries of the hamlet of Spitalfields are a more difficult matter to decide. It is common knowledge that the hamlet formed part of Stepney—that enormous parish, which, in the opinion of Stow,

Northouck.

'may be esteemed rather a province than a parish, especially if we add that it contains in it both city and country'—

and practically the only guide we have is the Rolls of the old Stepney Manor. Consulting them, one finds the copyhold portion to be the ground bordered by Phœnix Street on the north, Wentworth and Montague Streets on the south, Brick Lane on the east, and Wheeler Street on the west. The Priory would not, following the usual custom, have been the subject of the manor, and therefore the copyhold portion would not have comprised the whole hamlet, of which the Priory would have formed part, and this would add to the copyhold portion Spital Square and the Old Artillery Ground, which as a whole would have formed the original hamlet.

On the immigration of the French refugees about 1685 the district extended north and east, embracing in the term 'Spitalfields' within the next century as far as Bethnal Green and Mile End, and it is this enlarged district with which, in these memories of Spitalfields, I now wish to deal.

The description of Bethnal Green by a modern writer—

'First a dismal swamp, next a portion of the great forest of Epping, anon a pleasant hamlet covered with fields of corn, dotted here and there with the country residences of the London gentry, still later a suburban parish with its area divided between town-land, houses, agricultural and dairy farms, and finally arriving at what we know it to-day, a crowded working-class borough'[1]—

might equally apply to Spitalfields, as the earlier conditions were exactly the same, and later, as Bethnal Green boasted of the home of the Bishops of London, so Spitalfields in its turn centred round the important old Priory of St. Mary Spital.

The Manor of Stepney, which governed the larger portion of the hamlet, had prior to the Norman conquest been attached to the Bishopric of London. On the appointment of Bishop Ridley to the See of London, the Bishopric of Westminster was abolished, and Bishop Ridley took the lands attached to the See of Westminster, surrendering those of London to the King, Edward VI, who in turn (by letters patent of April 16,

[1] Allgood, *Hist. Bethnal Green.*

1550) granted the Manors of Stepney and Hackney to his Lord Chamberlain, Thomas, Lord Wentworth. The latter will possibly be remembered as the commander of the garrison of Calais at the time of its capture by the French, a conquest due principally to the assistance of Sieur Jean de Monchy,[1] who later became one of the Huguenot leaders. The son of Thomas, Lord Wentworth, created Earl of Cleveland, was noted in his day as a spendthrift and as one of the boon companions of the Duke of Buckingham, but is only interesting to us as having accompanied his Grace in the second unsuccessful expedition made by the English to relieve the Huguenots at the siege of La Rochelle, and also as being with the Duke at the time of his assassination by Felton on the eve of his embarkation for the fourth expedition to the same place.[2] The Manor of Stepney remained in the Wentworth family until 1720, when it was sold to Mr. John Wicker of Horsham, and from him it passed to his relatives, the Colebrooke family, in whose possession it still remains.

The importance of the old manor is shown by the weekly Court of Records, created by Charles II at the request of the Earl of Cleveland—a kind of county court for the manor—for the recovery of debts not exceeding 5*l*. In this court, existing as late as 1746 in the Whitechapel Road, the steward of the manor acted as the judge. The cases were tried by jury, any juryman failing to attend being fined by the steward. The fines went to the London Hospital. Even more important was the Court of Homage, which undertook the duties of inspector of nuisances, district surveyor, inspector of weights and measures, the control of the police, and finally all the functions of a local vestry. It is said that the court even intervened in matters of a most trivial kind, as, for instance,

[1] Hozier and Haag.

[2] The first expedition, a fleet of thirty ships, commanded by Robert Bertie, 11th Baron Willoughby d'Eresby, created Lord Lindsey, started in September 1626, and returned in October, never having got beyond the Channel. The second, in 1627, was commanded by the Duke of Buckingham. The third, a fleet of fifty ships, commanded by Lord Denbigh, the Duke's brother-in-law, started April 17, 1628, and returned May 26. The fourth, starting in September 1628, was commanded by Lord Denbigh, vice the Duke of Buckingham, who was stabbed on August 23.

if a fight occurred it was the duty of the other residents duly to report the occurrence at the next sitting of the court. The rights of the old manor still exist, as shown by the Spitalfields Market, which in quite modern days has been admitted by the courts to its right to the monopoly of holding a market for six and two thirds of a mile around,[1] whose tolls are at the present day the subject of an action before the House of Lords. These manorial rights would not, however, have affected the old Priory ground, which, as I have stated before, would not have been subject to the manor.

On the dissolution of the old Priory of St. Mary Spital, somewhere about 1539, Sir Stephen Vaughan, to whom the Priory and its garden ground (now Spital Square) was granted, seems to have used the Priory itself as a residence, and later to have built a house, called 'The Candle House,' rather to the south, to take its place. Stow, writing in 1598—some fifty years later—mentions the site as covered with many fair houses, and there is no doubt that not only this spot but the whole district became a favourite quarter for the gentry of the period. Strype writes :

> 'It used to serve for country retirement to citizens and other wealthy men. Witness those many fine seats and noble structures that appear scattered about in these parts. For so it was, especially in ancient times when courtiers and persons of the greatest quality had their country houses here.'

That this is no idle remark is seen when one notices the many aristocratic families living around. With Lord Bolingbroke in Spital Square, the Marquis of Worcester at Stepney, Sir Walter Ralegh at Mile End, the Bishop of London at Bethnal Green, and the Countess of Dudley, Lord Morley, Lord Powis, and Sir Richard Gresham as landowners and residents, it is certain that the neighbourhood did not lack gentry of the best families. Fashion did not then exist entirely in the West as now. It will be remembered, for example, that Devonshire Square, Bishopsgate, derives its name from the town house of that ducal family.

[1] Goldsmid and others *v.* Great Eastern Railway Co., 1884.

The Act of Queen Elizabeth prevented the district from being built over, and the meadow-land so remained until 1660, when Sir William Wheler, a resident in Spital Square, obtained an Act of Parliament permitting him to build on his property lying to the east of the square. This most probably marks the beginning of the quarter destined to become so famous later as the home of the French silk weavers. Rural in its surroundings well into the seventeenth century it certainly was, for we read at the time of the Great Plague in 1666:

'The Lord Mayor caused the country people who brought provisions to be stopped in the streets leading to the town, and to sit down there with their goods, where they sold what they brought, and went immediately away; and this encouraged the country people greatly to do so, for they sold their provisions at the very entrance into the town, and even in the fields, as particularly in the fields beyond Whitechapel, *in Spitalfields*'[1]—

which even without the note which follows—

'These streets now called Spittle-fields were then indeed open country'—

is confirmatory evidence of its character at that date. Some twenty years later the Old Artillery Ground was sold for building purposes, and this brings us to the date of the arrival of those 'profitable strangers,' the Huguenot silk-weavers.

To-day, as it has always been, one finds certain districts of London characterised by particular trades and persons, and in dealing with the settlement of the French silk-weavers in Spitalfields one naturally seeks for some reason for their selection of this particular spot. As to this it will be remembered that, long after the return of the refugees of 1573, numerous Frenchmen remained in London, for we read that the Great Plague of 1666 first broke out in the house of a Frenchman, in Long Acre, to whom some goods had been consigned from the Continent, where the plague was then raging. It was only natural, therefore, when the poor refugees

[1] Defoe, *Journal of the Plague.*

of 1685 arrived in this country, that they should select as a dwelling-place some spot near to which their own countrymen who had already settled in this country resided. These places were known by the name of 'Petty France,' and this name was to be found in London until quite recent times. One of these was outside St. Botolph's Church, Bishopsgate, for we read that outside the City walls by that church

'on new moor ground, reclaimed from the edge of the moor, small tenements were erected in the reign of Elizabeth for the residence of French Refugees, and the place was called Petty Fraunce,'

and there is no doubt that this particular 'Petty Fraunce'—which, according to Defoe, is the present New Broad Street—was one reason for the settlement of the French weavers in the adjoining Spitalfields.

Another attraction combined with the above may very probably have been a very powerful factor in the rise of Spitalfields, and this was the fact that the Nonconformists had made this quarter their home. The records of the county of Middlesex at this period are full of the trials of these unfortunate people, and in 1684 will be found mention of the trial and the heavy fines inflicted on the constable, warden, headborough, and beadles of the hamlet of Spitalfields for permitting unlawful meetings for private worship. These particular officials seem to have been very favourably inclined to the Nonconformists, and incurred grave displeasure for refusing to give any evidence, though ultimately the beadles gave way, and got off with a fine of 13*s.* 4*d.* each and two days in the pillory—one day at the market in Spitalfields and the other at Ratcliffe Cross. At the same sessions the parish officials of Bethnal Green also appear indicted for the same offence, but in this case only the constable held out, the headboroughs confessing and being fined 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each, the beadle getting off with one day in the pillory by the almshouses in Whitechapel.[1] It is, moreover, evident from the early history of the Huguenot churches in this quarter that these Dissenters gave the refugees a hearty welcome, sharing with them their chapels, and doubtless their

[1] *Middlesex County Records.*

homes also, greeting them as fellow-sufferers in the cause of 'Liberty of Conscience.'

Another reason for the settlement of the refugees in the locality was that in the neighbourhood there was already a large weaving colony. The original quarter of the English weavers was, of course, centred in Basinghall Street, where the hall of the Weavers' Company originally stood, and, as the number of weavers increased, the quarter extended to Moorfields, Norton Folgate, and Shoreditch. This is confirmed by the records of trials of certain weavers of Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, and Stepney in 1675 for the riots against the introduction from Holland of the ribbon-loom—called by some 'The Dutch Loom' and by others 'The Weavers' Loom-Engine.' The inventor of this machine, a German, was forbidden by the authorities of his town to use it even for his own advantage, and, to make doubly sure of their order being carried out, it is recorded, he was 'privately strangled or drowned.' The States-General were the first to permit its employment, and hence its name of 'The Dutch Loom.'[1]

Taking into consideration all these three facts—the settlement of the earlier Frenchmen, the preponderance of Nonconformity in the district, and the additional advantage of its being close to an existing weaving quarter—it is no wonder that the refugees of 1685 decided on this as a very suitable place in which to carry on their trade.

Within easy reach of the City walls, and with its countrified surroundings, it must have formed an admirable spot for the poor refugees to make their abiding-place, until such time as they could feel safe in returning to their homes again. Difficult as it is to realise it now, Petticoat Lane is described by Stow as having

'on both sides fair hedges, rows of elm trees, with bridges, and easy stiles to pass over into the pleasant fields, very commodious for citizens therein to walk about, and otherwise to recreate and refresh their dull spirits in the sweet and wholesome air,'

though at the time of his writing (1598) he complains that there was

'a continual building throughout of garden houses and small cottages,

[1] *Middlesex County Records*, vol. iv.

and the fields on either side be turned into garden plots, tenter yeards, and bowling alleys and such like.'

This would of course only apply to the main road and the garden ground immediately skirting it on either side, as Ogilby's map of 1677, nearly a century later, still shows a large amount of open ground in the district of Spitalfields itself. Comparisons of the various maps show that the district was not completed until about 1682, and that practically from that date until 1830 no extension of its suburbs occurred. Even so late as 1800 Kelly's map of London shows the houses to have extended no farther north than St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green; in Whitechapel the London Hospital is still surrounded by fields, and St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, is still the country church with its neighbour of Hoxton a pleasant suburb. At this date the Euston Road was not made, Baker Street only just commenced, and Belgravia did not exist. It seems almost past belief that London was ever so, the change has been so great, but it is of these times and the century previous that Spitalfields claims from us our greatest interest and attention.

Squalid as the neighbourhood is at the present time, one can imagine that the then pleasant surroundings would have proved a great attraction to the poor wanderers, and through them Spitalfields practically came into being. The many fair houses in Spital Square mentioned by Stow would have offered accommodation to the better class refugees, who became the master weavers of later days, and for the workmen and others smaller houses were built as quickly as possible, converting the little hamlet into almost a city in itself. One can picture it then, centred round Spital Square, bounded on the south by the Old Artillery Ground, on the west by Norton Folgate, and on the east by Christ Church, extending northwards to Shoreditch and eastwards to Brick Lane and the open country. Taken as a whole, Spitalfields may be said to have consisted of three districts: (1) that of Spital Square, governed by Norton Folgate; (2) the Old Artillery Ground, governed by itself; and (3) the remainder, the largest portion, governed by Whitechapel. This continued until 1837, when the whole was merged in the Whitechapel Union.

On the south, bordered by a brick wall, the Old Artillery

Ground had as its boundaries on the north Spital Square and the present Lamb Street. Remains of this old wall were discovered as recently as some twenty years ago, and were mentioned in the *City Press* of July 1892. The old Ground, apart from its connexion with the Huguenots, has a very interesting history, which is well worth repetition. Originally part of the lands of the old Priory of St. Mary Spital, it was let in 1537 by the last Prior, under pressure from Henry VIII, for a term of thrice ninety-nine years, to the fraternities of the Archers and the Artillery, the predecessors of the Honourable Artillery Company. It was afterwards used by the City Trained Band, which was formed in 1585, during the alarm caused by the expected invasion by the Spanish Armada, and later disbanded. In 1610 it was re-formed, holding weekly drills at which country gentlemen used to attend for the purpose of learning to train their own country bands. The City Trained Band gained its laurels in the Civil War, and Lord Clarendon even goes so far as to say that at the battle of Newbury 'they were in truth the preservation of the army that day.' The army he refers to is the Parliamentary one, and from the history of the time it is quite clear that, but for the City Trained Band, the Roundheads would not have been so fortunate as they were, if one may not even say that this Trained Band was actually the means of their victories. Cromwell's treatment of the City in the days of the Commonwealth alienated its sympathies entirely, and at the Restoration it threw all its weight toward assisting the return of the Monarchy. In 1622 the Trained Band moved into its present quarters in Finsbury, presumably surrendering its lease to the Crown, as the Ground was then used by the gunners of the Tower. Pepys refers to this in his 'Diary' in an entry of April 20, 1669:

'Walked to the Old Artillery Ground near the Spitalfields by invitation of Captain Deane, to see his new gun tried, this being the place where the officers do try all their great guns.'

During this period it would seem as if the old Ground was used as a green or fair ground, for Walford mentions cricket as being played there,[1] and in the British Museum there is an old

[1] *Old and New London.*

pamphlet, 'The Ballad of Spitalfields,' which refers to a fair there, bringing in among other names that of Culpepper. In 1683 the whole ground of five acres and one rood, with the buildings, storehouses, magazine, etc., was sold by the Crown for building purposes, and, followed as the purchase was by the immigration of the Huguenots, it must have proved a very lucrative investment for the fortunate purchasers. The Ground had one advantage over its neighbours—it had been taken into the Liberty of the Tower, presumably on its surrender by the City Trained Band in 1622, a privilege confirmed by letters patent of James II dated June 10, 1699, and, as in that Liberty, its residents enjoyed total freedom from the jurisdiction of the county authorities. That this was a privilege jealously guarded is shown by the appeal of certain residents in 1742 against a fine of 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* imposed on each of them for not attending a jury summons issued by the county, an appeal which was not only successful in obtaining a remission of the fines but resulted in further letters patent of June 17, 1742, confirming the rights of the Liberty. These men, whose names I give (p. 342), are eleven in number, and among them will be seen the well-known names of de la Mere and Chauvet, the appeal being made by one Robert Perrot, an attorney presumably also of Huguenot descent.[1] The Liberty was only abolished as late as 1894, and there is no doubt, if only for this privilege alone, that the houses in the old Ground were greatly in request, especially in the old days.[2]

While mentioning this old Liberty, it may not be known that the 'Strangers' were at first a continual trouble to the City guilds. Where possible the strangers selected spots, which were claimed as 'Liberties,' as the sites of old monasteries, like St. Catherine's in the Tower, where the Flemings had a burial-ground, and, as living in such Liberties, claimed to be free from the control of the guilds. This led to continual complaints to the Corporation, culminating in proceedings against the alien workers, records of which are to be found in the Guildhall. In the result the guilds gained the day. Although

[1] Bishopsgate Inst., *Papers relating to the Old Artillery Ground.*

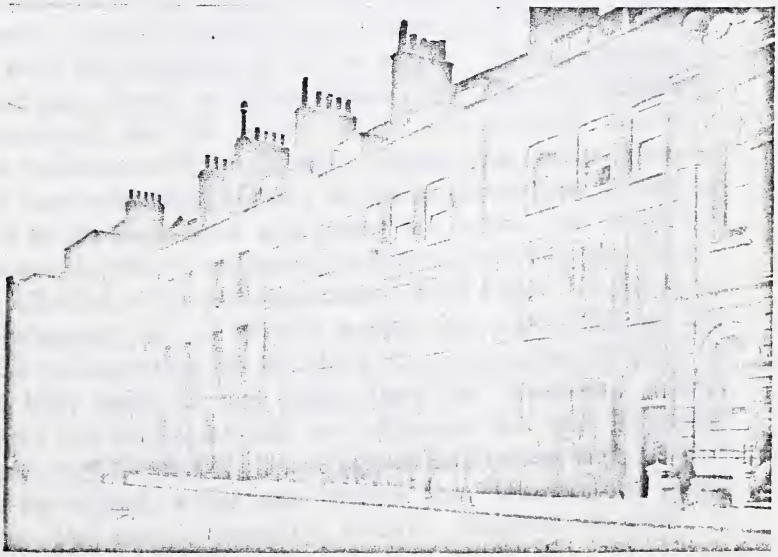
[2] This privilege was withdrawn by the Act of 1870 in respect of all Liberties but the City of Westminster's, the latter being withdrawn by the Act of 1888.

this applies only to the earlier refugees, it is interesting as giving rise to the settlement in Blackfriars and the church of St. Martin Orgar.

Such then was one quarter of Spitalfields, which had as its centre no less than two of the Huguenot churches erected in this district, one of which lasted till as late as 1786.

Our next settlement, Spital Square—or Spital Yard, as it was called until 1722—was of course the principal quarter of the whole district, a fact to be noticed to-day with its posts at either end to keep out the wheeled traffic. These posts are certainly singular to-day anywhere in the metropolis, but when they occur adjacent to a big market like Spitalfields, and one notices that the road through the Square would form a direct communication with Bishopsgate, it seems still more singular that they should survive. In the past it was no doubt due to the good class of residents in the Square, and there is little doubt that if the old houses could speak they would give us many a tale worth hearing. The burial-ground of the Priory contained for many years after the Priory had disappeared the old Spital Cross, whence the famous sermons were preached. So late as 1700 was still to be found in the Square the town house of Lord Bolingbroke, and it is probable that here he said good-bye in 1735 to his old friends Pope, Swift, and Gay, on his leaving for France at the close of his political career. Many other names of note appear as residents, and a search in the rate-books of the period, now in the custody of the Stepney Union, would no doubt give us many interesting records of the French master weavers resident there at that time. In the old Square are still to be seen the beautiful old Georgian houses built by the master weavers, houses which would grace the best parts of the West End, and in one of these is stated to be a hall of sufficient size to allow of the turning in it of the Lord Mayor's coach. That the residents were men of substance is shown by the fact of George IV's having dined at No. 20—a fact still spoken of in the neighbourhood. At the back of some of the houses, used even to-day as private residences, there are good gardens with mulberry trees, relics of the old Huguenot master weavers' occupation.

SPITAL SQUARE
No. 20 is the house on the left



SPITAL SQUARE

Christ Church parish, the last of these three divisions of Spitalfields, forms the largest part of the whole district. Its workhouse dated from 1727, when a shop and house were purchased in Bell Lane. This must have been extended, for in 1746 the number of poor maintained is given as 120, their chief work being to wind silk for the throwsters. In charge was a matron and housekeeper, and it is perhaps interesting in view of to-day's legislation to read that a surgeon attended twice a week and was allowed 12*l.* per annum for physic, with 2*l.* 2*s.* for each fractured limb. In 1752 larger premises were needed, and an offer was made of the old Huguenot church in Grey Eagle Street (possibly Brown's Lane Chapel, closed 1742), but the owner subsequently withdrew this offer on account of his wish to make a new street between Wood Street and Grey Eagle Street. The workhouse was then removed to Mile End New Town, and this building was transferred to the Whitechapel Union in 1837.

Of the growth of London's outskirts there is no more striking proof than the Act of Queen Anne for the building of fifty new churches, and it says much for this district that out of that number two churches should have been allotted to it. At the date of this Act in the whole district there was only one church, and that a small chapel of ease called Wheler's Chapel, to meet the requirements of the people. It was proposed to build one church in Spital Square, but this was ultimately abandoned, and the second which was actually erected is the well-known Christ Church. To-day this church is one of the most prominent features of the neighbourhood, situate as it is in the main road and facing the market, but when first erected the church was merely in Church (now Fournier) Street, an off-shoot of its principal street, Brick Lane. Designed by Hawksmoor, one of Wren's pupils, this noble building has received more than its fair share of condemnation by experts. Its lofty spire, 23 feet higher than the Monument, towers above the neighbourhood, and although this spire especially comes in for derision, yet one cannot help feeling that, without it, the church would not receive that attention it claims from the casual passer-by to-day. Finished in 1729, it

is characteristic of the place that its first addition should have been a big tenor bell, used for the purpose of calling the weavers to work.[1] This was added in 1730, and thenceforward rung from a quarter to six in the morning till six o'clock, and again at a quarter to eight in the evening till eight o'clock as a curfew bell and a signal of the close of the day's work. Its peal of ten bells, to which two others were added later, considered at the time the finest in all London, was destroyed by a fire which occurred in February 1836. Times then for the workman were very different, and here is a picture of the day as it existed. In private houses

'six o'clock was the hour for rising, and then might be heard the flint and steel striking marks upon the tinder in the tin tinder box, from which were lighted the broad brimstone matches then sold in bunches spread out like a fan.'[2]

In big works

'Punctually as the clock struck six the resident man who called the servants of the house, and acted as Porter, opened the gates, and the men came in and set to work. At nine they had half an hour for breakfast, at one an hour for dinner, and at half past five half an hour for tea, continuing then until the curfew tolled at eight. They therefore actually worked twelve hours, or half their time, except on Saturday, when they left off and were paid at six o'clock. There was never any discontent, the time passed quickly and pleasantly as the work went on and the men could talk as they worked. . . .

'. . . But then there was little or no competition in those days. Underselling was considered dishonorable, and it was not then admitted that as Ruskin says;

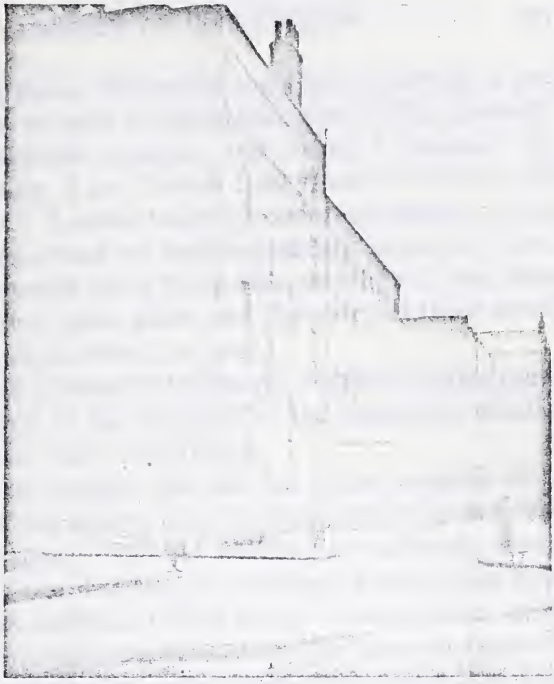
> "The part of the buyer is to cheapen,
> And that of the seller to cheat."'[3]

The Registers of Christ Church are well worth examination for French families, the early portion being particularly prolific in French records. It must not be forgotten that the refugees

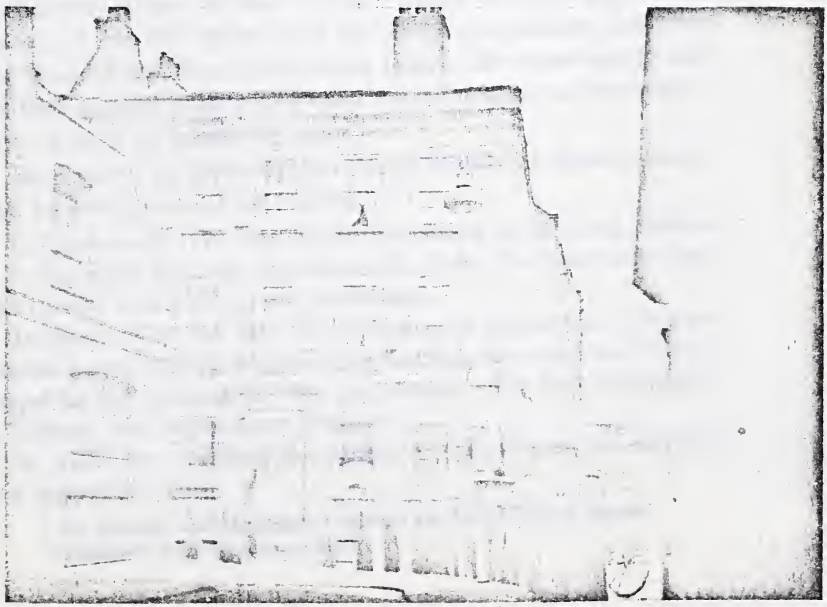
[1] This custom is not peculiar to Spitalfields. The church bells are used in many country places in a similar way.

[2] *Memoir of John Davis.*

[3] *Ibid.*



No. 32 SPITAL SQUARE
The alleged site of the old Cross



CHURCH PASSAGE
Shewing posts barring roadway into Spital Square

included Episcopalians, who would early have reverted to our English churches, as more in accord with their faith, especially in this Nonconformist quarter, and hence, I assume, the absence of so many of our French family names from the old French Registers. Another thing is worth remembering: that the French churches had no burial-grounds attached to them, and therefore it would be in the parish churchyard that their burials would have taken place, and the entry of them would be found in the parish church register.[1]

The grand old interior of the church contains, among other memorials, tablets to the memory of the Huguenot families of Ouvry, Chabot, Vaux, and Dubois.

Apart from its records, this fine old church appeals to us as the owner of the church of La Patente, which is now used as their church room. The old building is unaltered, except as regards the front, the former courtyard having been built over to form an addition to the room. The interior, which still retains the royal arms erected in the time of James II as a sign of the authority under which it was built, has been decorated by the Kyrle Society with a portrait of Charles Dickens, who has immortalised the old church by associating it with the father of Sam Weller.[2] Had Dickens known the history of the old place, and its many associations, one feels sure that its mention would have been a far more kindly one, and that around it he would have woven a much more reverent story of such an historical place.

Its history, as given by Mr. Scott, Rector of Christ Church, may be briefly stated as follows:

In September 1777 the church was leased by Richard Mitchell of St. George's, Hanover Square, to Mr. John Le Soeuf and others for 21 years from 1780 at 10*l.* per annum.

In March 1787 the Rev. de la Chaumette and certain elders and deacons leased to John Porzelius the building then used as a German Chapel for 14¾ years at 31*l.* 10*s.* per annum. The Rev. Christopher E. Tribner was the German Minister.

In 1790 the building was leased to John Goose for one year at a peppercorn rent.

[1] St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, registers are full of French names.

[2] *Pickwick Papers*, chap. xxxiii.

At this time the property was sold by Mr. Mitchell's executors to Mr. Robinson for 2800*l* (*sic*). It then passed to Mr. J. C. Ubele in 1801 for 350*l*., and on his death his daughter, Catherine Nash, leased it to Thomas Ridau Rawlings, the building being then used as a Baptist chapel.

In 1853 it passed by the will of Michael Nash to his wife and Mr. Rawlings in trust for the former. Consequent on a Chancery suit the property was sold on August 13, 1858, by auction and purchased by Mr. James Edwards of Brown's Lane for 600*l*., its rental being 40*l*. per annum.

In 1862 it was sold to Mr. John Hughes for 600*l*. for use by the United Methodist Free Church, passing in 1887 to Christ Church parish for the sum of 1700*l*.[1]

Among things of clerical interest were the Limborough Lectures. To-day it is strange to hear that such a thing as a Sunday evening service was unknown: yet it was generally so, and until 1783 there was no evening service at Christ Church. Even after that date there was none except when a Limborough lecturer preached, and there was actually no regular evening service until 1856, when Canon Paterson inaugurated this additional service on his appointment as rector at that date.[2] The founder of these lectures was a Mr. James Limborough, a master weaver, who until 1765 lived in Crispin Street, and during the last six years in a house adjoining the old Huguenot church. His house, it is thought, afterwards became the Spitalfields School of Design. On his death he bequeathed 3500*l*. to the Weavers' Company for the maintenance of a Sunday evening lecture, beginning on the first Sunday in September, and ending on the last Sunday in April. The lecturer was appointed by the Weavers' Company for three years and could not be again elected without an interval of three years from the expiration of his last appointment. The salary was 50*l*. per annum, and the rector or curates of the parish church, where the lectures were given, were debarred from election. These lectureships dated back to Puritan times, and were an especial aversion of Laud, who tried either to silence or control them. On Laud's

[1] Rev. J. H. Scott, *History of Spitalfields*.
[2] Information by the Bishop of Stepney.

downfall the Long Parliament took special measures to promote the lectures, but at the Restoration they became unfashionable and fell into abeyance, and it was not until the revival of Wesley's time that they were re-established. They were nearly all connected with the Evangelical party in the Church of England, and it was most probably in imitation of this that Mr. Limborough founded this lectureship, which his will shows was more especially intended for Spitalfields and its neighbourhood.

That David Garrick, the great actor, was of Huguenot descent is of course well known, but it may not be so well known that it was in this Huguenot quarter of London that he achieved his first great success. The old Goodman's Fields Theatre in which he appeared had other Huguenot connexions, for here it was that the works of David Prelleur were produced. Prelleur, who began life as a writing master in Spitalfields, was appointed organist of St. Albans, Wood Street, in 1728, and shortly after this appointment he was engaged to play the harpsicord at Goodman's Fields Theatre, which he continued to do until its suppression under the Licensing Act of 1737, composing dances and occasional music, which were performed at the theatre. He was the author of 'The Modern Musick Master,' published in 1730, and also of 'Divine Melody,' a collection of hymn tunes published in 1758 after his death. It is even still more interesting to know that he was the first organist of Christ Church, Spitalfields, certainly a very appropriate appointment for the first church in this Huguenot quarter.[1] Smiles in his 'Huguenots' mentions that Garrick first appeared in a piece by Prelleur, but it was in the interlude of a concert, at which possibly some of Prelleur's compositions were performed, that Garrick, who for family reasons was then announced as 'a gentleman who had never appeared on the stage before,' made his debut as Richard III.

Reading an old guide of 1746,[2] one cannot help being struck by the number of almshouses and schools in the district. Shoreditch boasted at that date of no less than eleven alms-

[1] Grove, *Musicians.*

[2] *The English Traveller* (London: 1746).

houses, five of which belonged to City companies, and one to the Walloon Church. Norton Folgate boasted of two schools and one almshouse, while Christ Church, whose parish is stated to be one half French or of French extraction, contributed four almshouses—one French, and a French charity house, called 'The Soup.' That this may not be confused with the soup kitchen of Brick Lane, founded in 1797, I quote its description:

'The French have a remarkable House of Charity in Spittal-Fields called The Soup, erected some fifty Years ago for the Relief of necessitous Families, whose Number about ten years ago, was not less than 296. They were formerly supply'd with Money, but many of them spent so much in Spiritous Liqours, that the Managers rightly judged it better to relieve them with Provisions, which are now distributed to them according to their Necessities, from two to six Portions a Week, each consisting of a Pan of good Broth, with half a Pound of Meat and one Pound of Bread. The Charge of this Charity amounts to 500*l.* a Year. It is under the Direction of a Number of Governors and Governesses, as is also their Charity School in Corbets Court, where all the poor Children of French Extraction in Spittal-Fields, who repair to it, are taught to read, write and cypher, at certain Hours, and go to work the rest of the Time for the support of their poor Parents.'

Continuing, we read that:

'In Grey-Eagle-Street, adjoining to the French Chapel, the French have another Almshouse for 45 poor Men and Women, who are allowed two shillings and Three-pence a Week each, with a Bushel of Coals, and Apparel every other Year. The Society by which it is supported belongs to the French Churches in Threadneedle-Street and Grey-Eagle-Street, which collected for their said Poor, at the two Churches aforesaid, in one day viz. March 10, 1728, no less than 1248*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* in Bankbills etc.[1]

It will be seen from this that, at any rate, the poor refugees were well provided for both in schools and charities, as well as churches.

As regards the later refugees, a fact which seems to have

[1] *The English Traveller* (London: 1746).

escaped notice is the assistance their presence here was to the English Protestants in frustrating the designs of James II to make this country conform to the Roman Catholic faith, similar to that of France; and, reading the history of the time, it seems doubtful whether, but for the Huguenots, the English Protestants would have been able to have successfully resisted his plans. That James realised this is shown by the grudging way in which he opened the fund for their relief, and his stipulation that those taking the relief should attend the Anglican service, a condition to which he knew quite well that they would not agree.

It is a pity that no record was kept of those weavers who settled in Spitalfields, but their numbers were as a matter of fact purposely concealed, the Consistory never revealing complete lists to the authorities, for fear of arousing the jealousy of the English nation, which might on account of the numbers arriving have closed its doors to future refugees. Weiss, basing his numbers on the registers, puts the total number of the refugees at 80,000, one third of which he places in Spitalfields and Soho, and part of the remainder in Bishopsgate and Shoreditch, so that we should not be far short in putting the numbers in this district at 15,000. Of the total 80,000 he puts the manufacturers and workmen at 70,000, of which a great number settled in the districts of Soho and St. Giles', then suburbs, and in 'lonely Spitalfields, which they entirely peopled.'

Of its early history at this period, beyond church records and some private memoirs, we have but little. The very cause which prompted the Consistory to conceal the true numbers of the refugees may doubtless have been the cause also of their refraining from coming too much to the front, and therefore it is only from the actual formation of the churches themselves that one can gather any idea of the population and its growth in this quarter. According to the very full researches by Mr. Beaumont Beeman, one of our Fellows,[1] it seems that prior to 1695, apart from the City church of Threadneedle Street, there were three churches in the West of London. Assuming

[1] *Hug. Soc. Proc.*, vol. viii.

for the purposes of comparison that the City churches drew their congregations from persons living nearer to the east than the west, we find that by 1689 the two sections have an equal number of six each. By 1691 the western portion shows an increase of two churches, due to the refugees making their way, on arrival, to the west in place of the City. The reason of this is not far to seek. Spitalfields, such as it was before the immigration of the refugees, appears, as I have already said, to have been the quarter to which the nonconforming classes had fled for shelter. The refugees we know shared in the early days the hospitality of the dissenting chapels, and it is no surprise, therefore, to find the principal French churches in Spitalfields belonging to what one may term the non-episcopalian class. On the other hand Soho became the episcopalian quarter, and it is no wonder, when the relief funds were placed in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury for distribution, that a larger amount was devoted to the Soho churches. Hence the later refugees naturally went to the west, where they were more likely to receive relief than the east. Once relieved and set on their feet, they seem in many cases to have moved to the east, for two years later—1693—we find the congregations in Spitalfields once again on the increase. By 1700, allowing for various amalgamations, the number is an equal one of nine each.

Against this apparent equality of the two districts must be placed the size of the churches themselves, which in Spitalfields were of a much larger character, so that we may be justified in assuming that, apart from its trading wealth, Spitalfields, as compared with Soho, was the more important of the two. This is borne out by the life of the churches, for while in 1800 the west can only furnish two churches, Le Quarré and Les Grecs, on the other hand the east provides us with Threadneedle Street, St. Martin Orgar, St. Jean, and L'Hôpital. It is somewhat curious to notice that at the present day each section is represented by one only, and that both, by trick of circumstance and time, should be situate in the lesser quarter of the west.

Coming now to the weavers themselves, it is a very popular

idea that the silk industry was introduced into this country by the Huguenot refugees, but as a matter of fact the art of silk ribbon weaving existed here long before that time. Various sumptuary laws have been passed as to the wearing of these ribbons: one in 1364 confined the wearing of ribbons to esquires of over 200*l.* per annum yearly income; another Act later reduced this qualification to 40*l.* per annum, and by a later one in the reign of Queen Mary this qualification was still further reduced by merely debarring its use to the lower classes. Silk as an article of raiment does not seem to have been worn in England until the sixteenth century, though there are records of its being worn at the wedding of the daughter of Henry III in 1251, and again at a ball at Kenilworth in 1286. As early as 1485 there was a company of silk-women in England, but it is probable their employment was not so much weaving as needlework. Small articles of haberdashery were made in England in 1482, but until about 1489 the only source of silk woven articles was Italy. In 1521 France commenced to weave silk, but it was not until nearly a hundred years later that its actual manufacture found its way over here.

It will be remembered perhaps that Queen Elizabeth was much gratified at receiving a pair of silk stockings from her silk-woman, Mrs. Montague, and also that James I was fain to borrow a pair in which to appear when he was offered the crown of England. In Queen Elizabeth's case it is the more striking, as the inventor of the stocking-knitting machine, Lee, an Englishman, received but scant encouragement from her, and he actually had to go to France, where from Henry of Navarre he received the recognition which enabled the French weavers to take so much of the trade which by rights should have been English. Tradition has it that our Virgin Queen could not bear the idea of anyone but herself showing their extremities cased in silken hose, a raiment she considered only fit for royal use.

Similar to the persecution of the Huguenots, that of the Flemings in 1567 was responsible for many of the best workmen leaving their native shores for England, and it was then

that the weaving of silk damask—at that date made of silk and flax—was introduced into England. These silk damasks were very costly, and were used on all occasions of ceremony by ladies of rank and wealthy commoners, but were not of course in anything like general use. As a matter of fact the actual date of the commencement of the silk manufacture in England is given as 1604, although broad silk was not woven from raw silk in this country until the year 1620. By 1630 the silk throwsters had become so important as to be incorporated as a separate company, its numbers in 1661 amounting to above 40,000 employees. It was then a necessity to belong to one of the big City companies if one wished to trade in the City, the masters belonging to the livery and the journeymen being the freemen. The silk weavers of those days necessarily belonged to the Weavers' Company, whose records disclose a large number of refugee names, carefully collected by a former official of the company, though, as the records chiefly consist of payments for quarterage, I am sorry to say that these are of little value for pedigree purposes. Merchants and retailers would have belonged to the Mercers' and Framework Knitters' Companies, which would no doubt furnish similar records.

The great efforts made by Henry of Navarre to introduce the silk industry into the north of France must not be forgotten, and there is no doubt that the personal encouragement which he gave to this trade was the means of bringing the southern part of France into the prosperous position it occupied at the time of the Revocation. France was not the only part of the world which owed its greatness to the silk manufacture, for it will be remembered that Florence had previously owed a large share of its wealth to this industry. While in England silk weaving had not advanced, that in France had rapidly been becoming the market of the world, and when Louis XIV, by his action in revoking the Edict of Nantes, temporarily destroyed this industry, he destroyed one of the greatest sources of wealth that any nation ever had. It was then that the Huguenots brought with them all their skill and improved methods of weaving, models of their machines, and above all the art of making their wonderful silk brocades. The beautiful

figured silks which issued from the English London manufactories at the end of the seventeenth century were, we are told, due almost exclusively to the industry of three refugees, named Landon, Mariscot, and Monceaux. Even the artist who supplied the designs was a refugee named Beaudoin. When one reads that

'French stuffs in particular were so sought after at the end of the seventeenth century, that an English manufacturer, named Thomas Smith, established in Spitalfields, having had previously similar ones made by his workmen, in vain offered them for sale in Covent Garden Market. In order to dispose of them he was obliged to avail himself of the services of a Refugee Manufacturer, who easily sold them as of his own make' [1]

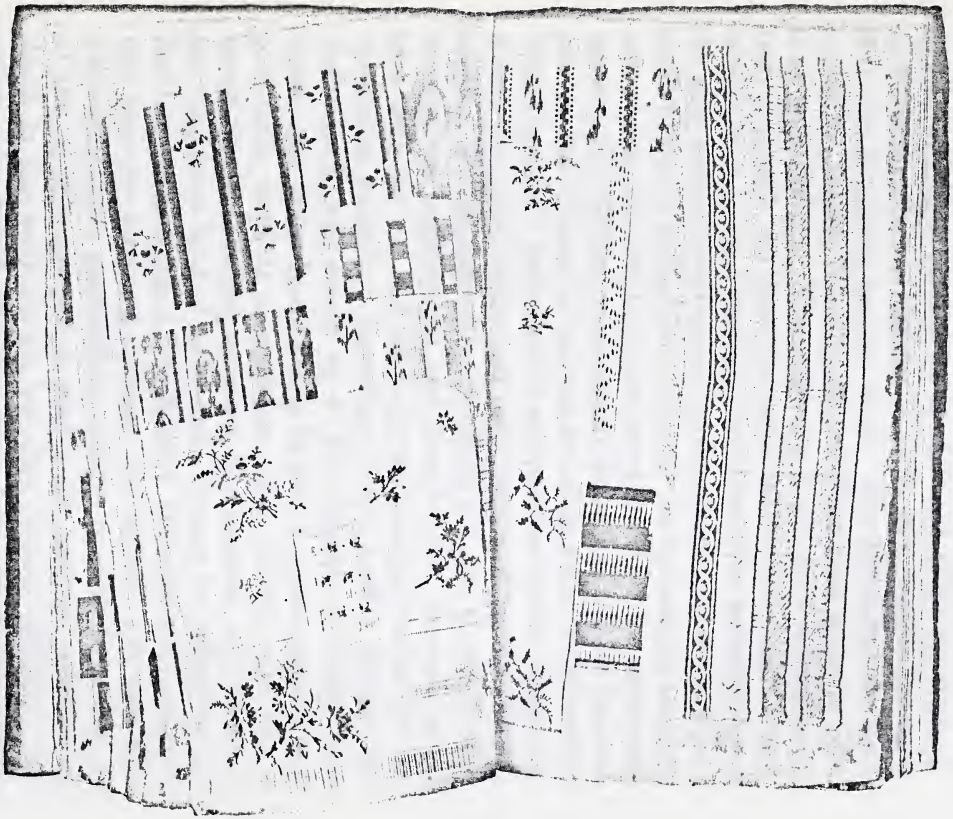
one cannot be surprised at the jealousy which the English weavers must have felt. This feeling is recorded by a resolution passed by the Weavers' Company on April 15, 1689, when it decided to appeal against the Bill, then before Parliament, to grant the 'strangers' equal rights, on the ground that the stranger weavers had not been apprenticed in this country—a petition, it is needless to say, which was unsuccessful.

The very interesting history of the silk trade will, I hope, form the subject of a paper by some Fellow at a future date, but in this connexion it is worthy of recall that at the time of the Pretender's second attempt in 1745, the period at which England's shores were most open to invasion, the master weavers of Spitalfields waited in person on the King with an offer of nearly three thousand men, the greater number of whom were of Huguenot descent. Among these master weavers are to be found many well-known names, several of whom figure later as directors of La Providence. The list already given to the Society omitted the names of thirty-seven firms, which the contributor considered of English origin, but as on reading through the list I noticed that the *Gazette* gives the whole of the names in English I have ventured to complete it, especially as one name, Abraham Newhouse, translated into French, gives the well-known name of 'de la Neuve Maison,'

[1] Weiss.

Abraham de la Neuve Maison being a director of La Providence. There is only one point to be borne in mind in scanning the list given of these names in the *Gazette*. Several firms appear with only a few men, and at first sight it would appear that these numbers would have represented their whole staff, but it is more than probable that many employees, from age or other conditions, would not have been willing to volunteer. This is borne out by the instance of Peter de Noailles, who appears on the list with three men only. Nevertheless we find him not so long after elected a director of La Providence, and he died a wealthy man. Altogether there are some fifteen to sixteen firms appearing within the next thirty years who furnished directors to La Providence, showing the close connexion between the silk weavers and that institution.

It will come as a pleasant surprise that there is still English-woven silk, and that among the master weavers of to-day the Huguenot families still take a prominent place, one of the principal, if not the leading firm, being that of Messrs. Warner & Son of Newgate Street, whose works until quite a recent date were actually in Spitalfields. At their offices one finds everything relating to the old quarter cherished, as only those who value these things can appreciate. To mention what was perhaps the prize of their collection I must take you for a moment to Canterbury. The under-croft of the cathedral there was not merely granted for the use of the church, which still exists, but also for the purposes of a school, and a place for the weavers to carry on their trade. The weavers working there used a book which, in addition to their patterns, contained all their names, and until quite recently this book was in the hands of Messrs. Warner. This fine old relic was so highly prized by them that it only left their possession on two occasions, once at the request of the South Kensington authorities, who wished to verify the paper and watermarks, and duly returned it with their certificate of authentification annexed. Secondly, when in a weak moment Mr. Frank Warner was persuaded to lend this unique memento of the past to the Brussels Exhibition of 1910, and in the disastrous fire which consumed the British section it was lost for ever. Unfortunately it was not their only relic of Spitalfields lost



THE CANTERBURY WEAVERS' PATTERN BOOK
Burnt in The Brussels Exhibition Fire, 1910

(From "The Art Journal")

in the fire. Among their exhibits was an old piece of silk woven in the time of William and Mary, and this also perished. The pattern had, however, been copied, and the illustration given enables us at any rate to form some idea of the design. The beautiful harmony of the soft colours should be seen to enable the beauty of the work to be appreciated. In South Kensington Museum is to be seen another specimen of the old Huguenot weavers' work. This design has also been copied by Messrs. Warner, and the illustration given is from their reproduction. The original is a silk dress belonging to Lady Du Cane. To those who would wish to see them, I would mention that Queen Victoria's coronation robes, certainly one of the most notable specimens of the Spitalfields silk weavers' art, are to be seen in the London Museum. In Spitalfields, at every turn almost, the first thing one hears is that these robes were woven in the district, and Howard House in Fournier Street—now the Boys' Home—is pointed out as the house of the weaver. From inquiries I have made it appears that Messrs. Wilkinson & Son, the Court tailors and robe makers of Maddox Street, supplied Her Majesty with everything she used that day, even to her gloves, handkerchief, and shoes, but they of course would have only cut out and made up the material woven by the Spitalfields weaver.[1] According to Mr. Luther Hooper the cloth-of-gold was woven by a Mr. Stilwell, of White Lion Street, and in his house was to be seen a square piece of this gold cloth, kept as a memento. Mr. Stilwell, who was a church furnisher employing about fifty weavers, only executed the very finest kind of work, and this may be judged by the fact that the hangings in Westminster Abbey on the coronation day were also furnished by him. Mr. Stilwell, who was Mrs. Luther Hooper's grandfather, appears to have been the last of the old-time prosperous master silk weavers, and on his death in the early sixties his class became extinct.[2] The velvet robe would probably have been woven by another firm, as the two classes of trade were then distinct, and two firms are mentioned by Messrs. Wilkinson as probably those to one of whom they would have given the order—Messrs. J. and

[1] Information by Mr. Wilkinson.
[2] Information by Mr. Luther Hooper.

W. Robinson and Messrs. Smart, Son & Nephew, both of whom are now defunct. According to an article in the *Evening News* in 1904 the actual weaving of the velvet was done by a Mr. Joseph Fleming.

Among other relics in the possession of Messrs. Warner is a print of the weavers' flag. The origin of this flag when traced back is very interesting. The Spitalfields Acts regulating the wages of the weavers at the time were supposed to have healed any differences formerly existing between the masters and men, but, to use a quaint expression of the old weavers, the country made the laws but the people must give them legs to walk on—in other words the journeymen weavers had no redress save by litigation in the event of any grievance arising. To meet this a union was founded in 1777 by Adrian Bommenear (? Beaumanoir) with a subscription of a penny a week for the support of the rights of the journeymen. This union after several changes resulted in the foundation of the Benevolent Society of United Weavers on October 14, 1802. Some remarks made by the Press as to the decadence of English silk weaving and the excellence of French manufacture seem to have been a source of great irritation to the Spitalfields weavers, and several meetings were held as to the best means of giving a suitable reply. The final decision was the manufacture of this flag, the idea of which was due to one Samuel Sholl, a weaver of Taunton, who had then been some years a journeyman silk weaver in Spitalfields, and with 2*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* in hand the flag was commenced on March 7, 1807. According to the programme the flag was two yards wide and of crimson satin, both sides alike. The picture, which was drawn by Henry Corbould, the artist, was, as will be seen by the illustration, oval in design, and portrays—first, a female figure of pensive aspect, reclining on a remnant of brocade, lamenting the neglected state of her favourite art, with some of the implements of the craft lying by her; secondly, Enterprise, finding her in that situation, drops on one knee to her, takes her by the right hand, and raises her up from the sitting posture. She now points with the other hand to a cornucopia, pouring out the horn of plenty on the undertaking, an apt emblem of the liberality of the British nation to support any laudable

REPRODUCTION OF SPITALFIELDS SILK.

Woven in the Reign of William and Mary, burnt in The Brussels Exhibition Fire, 1910

undertaking. Next stands Genius, touching Enterprise on the shoulder with the left hand, at the same time pointing with the right to tell the Weaveress that what she is so lamenting now is revived: a flag is made, the Weavers' Arms in it, and placed in the Temple of Fame. The borders are filled with emblems of peace, industry, and commerce, while above appears the all-seeing eye of Divine Providence.

It was first exhibited in its partly woven condition to the weavers on Monday, October 3, 1808, from 12 to 3, and every Monday following, and the next advance by way of advertisement was to apply to the Society of Arts to inspect the work so far done. This Society granted the Flag Society a silver medal on May 30, 1809, to be presented later.

Meanwhile the patrons collected in the following August 103*l.*, and encouraged by this the committee issued 1000 invitations to the ceremony of the presentation of the silver medal. The result was far from satisfactory, and, differences arising, some of the committee retired. The remainder approached Mr. Kincaid of 28 Spital Square, and obtained his consent to act as treasurer. The new treasurer appears to have been very loud in his promises to collect all the money required, but, as by the following April the committee found he was unable to get in more money, relying on the flattering reference made by the Society of Arts in its 'Proceedings' to the beauty of the work, they decided to advertise in the morning papers, inviting the public to inspect the flag and subscribe towards its cost. These advertisements duly appeared in *The Times*, *Morning Chronicle*, and *Morning Post* of April 30 and May 1, 1810. resulting in one visitor only! In their desperation the committee wrote to the Society of Arts begging it to grant an interview, but this was refused.

A further attempt was then made to interest the general public by offering tickets of 2*s.* 6*d.* each, four for 7*s.* and eight for 10*s.* 6*d.*, but the result was once again unsatisfactory. It was then decided to approach royalty, and Mr. Kincaid very kindly offered to undertake the journey to Windsor for them—I assume at the committee's expense. Three prints of the flag were made and framed for the Queen, the Princess of Wales, and the Princess Elizabeth, and duly presented with a suitable

letter to each written by Mr. Kincaid in his own name on the committee's behalf, begging for the royal favour and personal inspection of the flag. The illness and subsequent death of the Princess Amelia prevented her Majesty's doing so, and here the history of the enterprise as given by Mr. Sholl ends.

The flag was completed on March 23, 1811, having taken two men—a weaver and a drawer—three years, less five days, to weave. The total contributions amounted to 571*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* and the committee found themselves at the end with a debit balance of 381*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*, exclusive of their expenses![1] It is hardly to be wondered at that this balance resulted in a prompt winding up of the Society, and that, sick at heart as the poor weavers must have been, the flag itself was stored at a public-house in Bethnal Green with such little care that a few years later it had disappeared entirely. The plate of the print is still in existence, for it was shown only the other day to the Clerk of La Providence. The inscription at the foot of the print is as follows:

Henry Corbould, del. Chas. Corbould, sculp., 37 Foster Lane.
Taken from the original drawing, by G. Blatch, now in the possession of The Committee, 1809.

THIS PRINT

Representing the Emblematical FIGURES AND DECORATIONS OF THE SILK FLAG Brocaded on each side alike

Now Weaving in Spitalfields is [Royal Arms] by Permission Dedicated to the

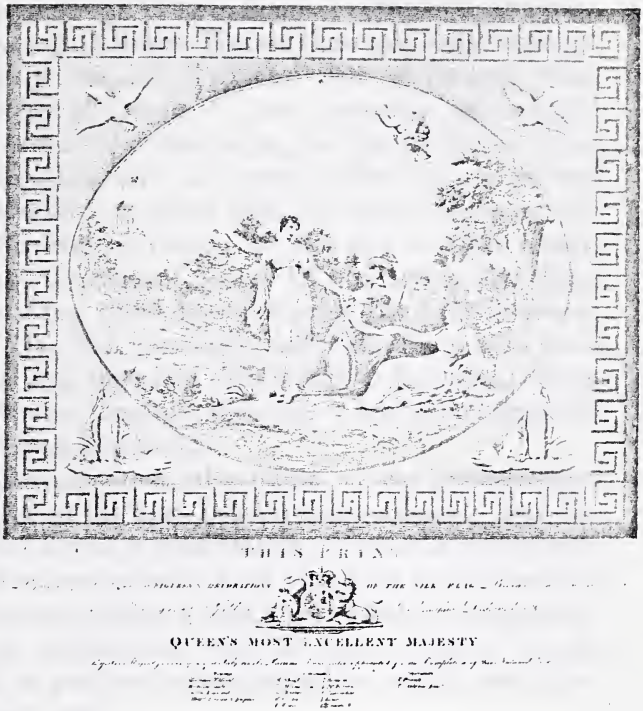
QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

By Her Majesty's ever grateful Subjects the Patrons & Committee appointed for the Completion of this National Work.

PATRONS.	COMMITTEE.		OPERATORS.
William Tilford.	S. Sholl.	J. Benson.	T. Frank.
William Hale.	T. Atkins senr.	J. McFarlin.	T. Atkins, jr.
John Kincaid.	E. Fletcher.	S. Agambar.	
Messrs. Racine & Jaques.	W. Carter.	J. Lemeree. [*sic.*]	
	I. Hoare.	J. Randall.	

Published by the Committee as the Act directs, 27 July 1809.

Samuel Sholl, *History of Silk Weaving, &c.*



THE WEAVERS' FLAG

(*From "The Art Journal"*)

The principal benefit, so far as I can judge, seems to have been an innovation made by John Lemere, who suggested a plan for weaving both sides of the flag alike, an innovation since adopted by the trade in the best class of work. The name of the weaver was Thomas Frank, a native of Canterbury.

To mention again Messrs. Warner: one can better estimate the standing of this old Huguenot firm on hearing that, besides the robes of George IV, they made the cloth-of-gold for King Edward's coronation robes, the figured silk for those of Queen Alexandra, and the purple velvet for our present Queen's wonderful coronation robe, as well as those of her Majesty as Princess of Wales. It was also on their recommendation that the robes of George IV were selected for those of our present King, which Messrs. Warner also had the honour of making. This firm practically left Spitalfields only some eighteen years ago, removing their works to Braintree, where, alongside of Messrs. Cortauld, they help to make that place the centre of old-time Spitalfields.

Mr. Benjamin Warner, the father of the present firm, was the founder of the East London Pension Society, and the family possesses a piece of presentation plate in commemoration of this, but the most notable work of his life was the revival of the manufacture of figured silks, an art which had practically died out. By collaboration with his older workmen he was able at length to produce the modern article, which ever since has had a ready sale.[1]

The illustration given of a specimen of his work, a striking design in deep red on a gold satin ground, is a very fair example of the figured velvet formerly so fashionable.

Mr. Benjamin Warner also was the first to build a 63-inch loom, the former widths being principally 21 inches only. For many years a loom of this larger size has been adopted, enabling curtains, for instance, to be woven in one piece, though strangely enough the demand to-day is returning to the old narrow widths, much to the journeyman weaver's disgust, for the wider piece means more money for less work.

There are many historic names to be found connected

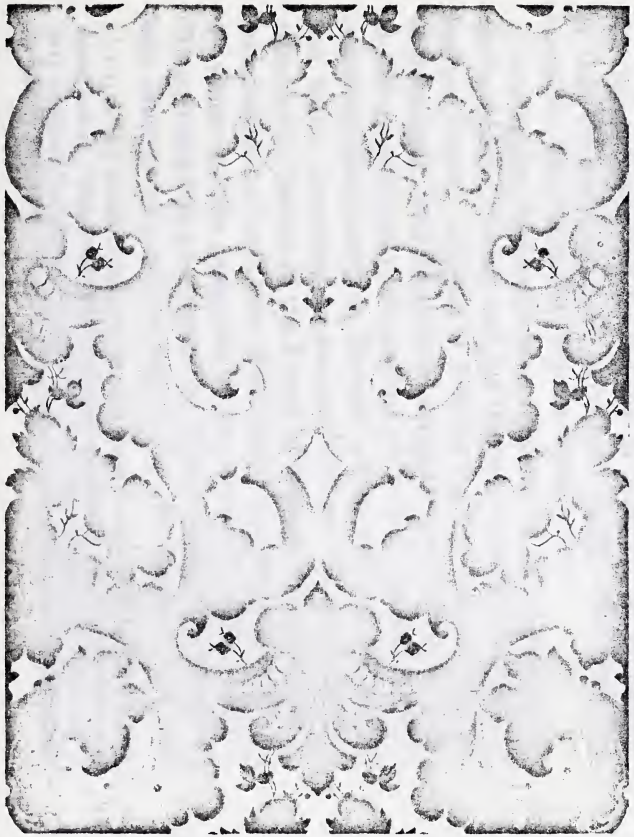
[1] Information supplied by Mr. Frank Warner.

with Spitalfields, and not the least is that of the family of John Richard Green, the historian, whose family name appears on the list of volunteers with thirty-two men. Of well-known names none is perhaps better known than that of Romilly, the noted lawyer, whose early life was spent here. In his memoirs he relates how shortly before his father's death they went to see Garrick act. The connexion of the Shaw-Lefevres with this quarter is also well known, Isaac Lefevre, the founder, being a silk weaver here; but perhaps the most interesting is that of the Chamier family, whose ancestor, Daniel Chamier, drew up the Edict of Nantes for Henri Quatre. One of this family was a minister of the Artillery Church, and another a director of La Providence. Among those often mentioned to-day is the Chabot family, but this family does not appear in Spitalfields proper until a later date. Their ancestor, as a child of seven years old, was smuggled into England in a hamper, and nothing was ever heard of his parents. The child, James, who was fortunate enough to be taken into the household of the Duke of Bolton, married and settled at High Wycombe. His eldest son, James, carried on the business of a calenderer and tabby-waterer in Moorfields, and his third son, Philip, settled in Spitalfields as a silk dyer, the firm continuing there for three generations.[1] The grandson of Philip, Philip James, was for twenty years the secretary of the Mathematical Society, of Crispin Street, and on its amalgamation with the Royal Astronomical Society was made a fellow of that Society. He was for many years a director of La Providence, and it was mainly owing to his exertions that the 'conditioning'[2] of silk, as practised in all continental cities, was established in London. At La Providence is to be seen a curious old clock given to him in commemoration of this, and presented by his family to the place most fitted for all these old relics.

I dare say that many of us have often spoken of the Bank

[1] *Vide* memorial in Christ Church.

[2] The ascertaining by various tests the strength, elasticity, evenness, and size of silk thread, when in the raw or thrown state, and also the ascertaining the proportion of moisture, etc., in the silk.



SPECIMEN OF FIGURED SILK
Re-introduced by Mr. Benjamin Warner

PATTERN OF LADY DU CANE'S DRESS
Woven by Spitalfields Weavers

of England notes as being printed on special paper made by the old Huguenot family of Portal, but it is not perhaps so well known that the ink at one time used by the Bank was also the manufacture of what I believe to be a Huguenot family, named Sholl. My surmise as to their Huguenot ancestry may not be correct, but I recently found a volume of sermons by a pastor of the French Protestant Church of that name, in which many Spitalfields worthies appear as subscribers. The father of the first man I refer to was a Quaker, named John Sholl,[1] who was noted for his designs in figured silks, one of which is still remembered—a design for parasols—the border representing Penn's treaty with the Indians. He made an umbrella for William IV, and some of his silk was worn by the Royal Family. In his later life he turned his attention to the improvement of beehives, and gained the attention of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, to whom he had the honour of explaining their working.

His son, James Sholl, of Lamb Street, continued the beehive business, but became better known as a manufacturer of writing ink, with which he supplied the Bank of England, as also burnt linseed oil for the ink in printing the banknotes, so that formerly it might have been justly said that our banknotes were wholly a Huguenot production.

Among the old-time famous residents of this district must not be omitted Gerbier and his famous 'Learned Academy' of Bethnal Green. The son of Antoine Gerbier, Baron d'Ouvilly of Normandy, and Radigonde, daughter and heiress of Sieur de Blavat of Picardy, his parents as early Huguenot refugees settled at Middlebourg in Holland, where their son, Balthazar, was born. According to his own account his great learning attracted the notice of the Prince of Orange, who gave him an introduction to Noel Caron, the Dutch ambassador in England, by whom he was presented to our scholarly King, James I. We next find him as secretary to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and later as engaged in negotiating the Spanish Treaty of

[1] It is very probable this John Sholl is the same man as Samuel Sholl, mentioned before. The author of Jno. Davis's memoir in his reminiscences may have confused the name. Samuel Sholl, who gives details of his own life in his History, makes no reference to any other family of his name in Spitalfields.

Marriage. He was knighted at Hampton Court in 1628, and in 1637 appears to have been again entrusted with some private negotiations of state with France. In 1641 he took his oath of naturalisation as an Englishman. His mission abroad led to his impeachment before the House of Lords, resulting in his dismissal from the public service and the stopping of his pay and disbursements for the whole period of his residence abroad. He then left for France, where he became a favourite at Court by the discovery of some plot against Louis XIII, but by 1648 he seems to have found the climate somewhat unhealthy, and again returned to England. Keeping pace with the times, he now appears to have been as big a Roundhead as before he was a Cavalier, and it is about this period that he opened his celebrated academy, which in the summer months was held at Bethnal Green and in the winter at Whitefriars, his terms being 6*l.* a month, half of which sum was to learn to ride the great horse. By way of advertisement free lectures were given in the academy, a characteristic announcement of which is the following:

'Sir Balthazer Gerbier desires that if any lady or virtuous matron will attend his lectures, they will give notice, that they may be the better accomodated, according to their quality.'

The Restoration finds him once again the zealous Cavalier, designing the triumphal arch for the entry of the King into London. A lecture of his, on the great profits to be obtained from a settlement in South America, gave him a commission to practise as well as preach. Settling at Cayenne, he was imprudent enough to get into the bad books of the Dutch governor, by whose orders he was arrested. He barely escaped with his life, and was taken to Holland, and it is believed that this outrage was the origin of the subsequent war with Holland. He was the architect of Hempsted Marshall, the mansion built by the Earl of Craven for his adored Queen of Bohemia, and it was whilst superintending this work that Gerbier died. He lies buried in the parish church there. Known as the painter of the pictures in the old York House, Adelphi, Walpole nevertheless gives him the unflattering description of architect and

painter 'excellent in neither branch.' As might be expected from such a boastful man, he was the author of numerous works, his best known being 'The Art of Well-Speaking,' dated 1649, which is satirised by Butler in his 'Hudibras.' His character for integrity does not seem to bear close inspection, and he seems rather to have been a plausible individual who lost no opportunity of self-advertisement. It was his knowledge of languages which probably led to his employment in diplomatic matters, where a not over-scrupulous man is often useful.

Among the very first settlers in Spitalfields is the old firm of Truman, Hanbury & Co, whose establishment dates back to the time when Sir William Wheler commenced to develop his property, the ground taken by the firm being described as 'Lolesworth Hop in Spittlefeilds.' Founded in 1669, it may certainly be classed as one of the oldest breweries in Europe, and probably its beer was the first that the refugees would have tasted on their arrival here. The firm will always be remembered with kindly thoughts from the assistance given by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton to the relief of the weavers in 1816.

A trade of which we hear but little nowadays is that of a pewterer, but in early days the trade was no inconsiderable one. Among the master pewterers in Spitalfields was Peter Le Keux, whose two sons, John and Henry, are noted as engravers, John Le Keux being the better known as having done so much by his drawings to reintroduce Gothic architecture, for which reason he has been more often referred to as an architect. James Basire, to whom he was apprenticed, was also of Huguenot descent, and is known as engraver to the Society of Antiquaries, but, as he was not a resident in Spitalfields, I merely mention him in this connexion. I should only like to add that he was the second of four generations of engravers, all well known, but of whom he is considered the best.

Another name well remembered in the district, seemingly of Huguenot descent, was that of Laschalas, a man who was the recipient of an annuity paid out of the rates for some parish work done, and in consequence for many years, it is needless to say, unaccustomed to receiving the usual birthday greeting from his neighbours. Another notability, whom however I have been

unable to trace, was a Francis des Sanjes, who received the honour of knighthood.

To consider now the type of houses which were occupied by the refugees. Knowing as we do that Bishopsgate escaped the fire of 1666, it is not surprising to read that the district was noted for its beautiful Elizabethan houses, and there is little doubt that the houses of the earlier refugees were of that character. The earliest houses of brick date from 1612 to 1640, and even so late as the end of the seventeenth century building in brick would have been an expensive matter; in fact the house of Sir William Wheler in Spital Square went by the name of 'The Brick House,' showing that it was peculiar in the neighbourhood. The general style of building then was of timber, filled in with plaster, similar to the houses still to be seen here and there in the country, and this was doubtless the style adopted for the early refugees in Spitalfields. Later on would have arisen the particular style so associated with the weavers. Weiss states that this resembled those of the workmen of Lille, Amiens, and the other manufacturing towns of Picardy, and it is possible that its introduction was due to the plans of some refugee architect, which were copied by other builders in the district. Those who are familiar with the neighbourhood will know the wide latticed windows to which I refer, extending in many cases along the whole width of the house on the upper floor. Weiss refers to the custom of working in glazed garrets and cellars as copied from the French, but it does not seem as if much work was ever done in cellars, and it seems that in most cases at any rate all the weaving was done on the upper floors, a thing that would in itself appear necessary from the need of light in weaving any intricate design. Sir Lawrence Gomme, in his article on Spital Square, describes the houses of the master weavers there as

'Large and well-built houses with the top floor specially designed for the admittance of light, and to contain the hand-looms which manufactured the famous Spitalfields Silk Brocades and Velvet.

'They generally consist of four floors with basement. The walls are panelled, and the floor boards are secretly fixed to the

joists and dovetailed to each other by stout oak pins, silk waste being used as packing, probably to deaden the sound of the looms overhead.'

It would seem as if, following the custom in the City, the early weavers worked at the house of the master, but later that they took their work home, and there again used the upper floors of their houses, built specially for their workrooms.

There they were free not only to work but to grow their flowers and train their birds. In both floriculture and bird-fancying the weavers took first place, and if there was one thing more than another for which the refugees became famous it was their love of flowers and birds. Weiss mentions that they taught the English the cultivation of exotic flowers, and even to-day the flower show in Spitalfields is a sight one should see. I am not sure of the date of the first flower show, and cannot therefore assume that their inception was due to the Huguenots, but certainly in one case, that of the flower show of Dublin, founded in the reign of George I, its origin was due to refugees from this quarter. These refugees were no doubt those who left London to join in the manufacture of Irish poplin, the establishment of which is believed to have been made by Digues La Touche, an officer in Caillemotte's Dragoons, which were disbanded in Dublin.

In the very early days the weavers used their roofs not only for flower growing but also for the trapping of birds, though, as time went on and this was not possible, they utilised the roofs for training the birds caught farther afield. The weavers early gained a reputation for bird-fancying, and one of their occupations, especially in October and March, was the supply of London with singing birds. The capture of these birds was effected, we are told, by a mode totally different from that in any other part of the country, probably a French method unknown to the English people. The training of the birds was done in a manner also peculiar to the weavers alone. The period of song or 'jerking' of the call-birds was always a matter of great competition, and considerable wagers were frequently made as to whose bird would 'jerk' the longest in a given time. The limit of time was obtained by the burning

of an inch of candle, the birds being placed side by side, and the bird that jerked the most before the candle burnt out won the wager for its owner. In Hone's 'Every Day Book' will be found a list of the principal songs of these birds, whose value in extreme cases ran as high as 10*l.*, the price of 3*l.* to 4*l.* being frequently obtained for a bird whose attainments were not of the prize order. The wagering of these birds seems to have been a later innovation, as Hone also mentions that the older bird-fanciers deprecated the competitions as tending to spoil the song of the birds.

On the whole, taken as a class the weavers were very studious. While working at their looms, it was customary for one to read a book on some philosophical subject, and from this arose many clubs, the principal of which was the Spitalfields Mathematical Society. This Society was founded by one John Middleton, who had been a mariner, and subsequently kept a public-house called 'Monmouth's Head,' Monmouth Street, which is now the site of Hanbury's Brewhouse. The Society was founded in 1717, and meetings were held every Saturday evening, the subscription being fourpence a night, which was laid out in refreshment. Absentees were fined one penny per night, this amount going towards the purchase of books. There was a rule, observed upwards of eighty years, that one hour of the meeting should be devoted to silent study. The stewards were accustomed to put a sand-glass on the table, and no one, under penalty of a fine, was allowed to open his mouth until the glass had run down.[1] Each member had to employ himself on some mathematical exercise or forfeit one penny, and if he refused to answer a question asked by another in mathematics he had to forfeit twopence.[2]

In 1725 the Society removed to the White Horse Tavern, and in 1735 thence to Ben Jonson's Head in Pelham Street, and finally to Crispin Street.[3]

The Society lent its instruments and books to the members

[1] *Gent. Mag.*, vol. 98 I, p. 8.
[2] Timbs, *Cur. Lon.*
[3] *Gent. Mag.*, *loc. cit.*

on their giving a note of hand for their value. Its library consisted of three thousand volumes, besides philosophical instruments, and in 1845, when on the point of dissolution, the few remaining members made over their records and memorials to the Royal Astronomical Society, of which the few remaining members were elected Fellows, among them being Philip James Chabot, who for twenty years previous had acted as secretary.[1] Its president at that date was Gompertz, the famous actuary. I am not sure that he was born in Spitalfields, but it is interesting to remark *en passant* that his religion was the cause of the foundation of the Alliance Assurance Office. On the foundation of the Guardian Office in 1821 he applied for its actuaryship, for which, although admittedly competent for the appointment, he was refused on account of his being a Jew. It was entirely due to this that his brother-in-law, Sir Moses Montefiore, and his relative, Nathan Rothschild, founded the Alliance Office in 1824, Gompertz being appointed actuary by the deed of settlement.

The Mathematical Society will, however, always be memorable to us from the membership of John Dolland, whose striking discovery in the arrangement of the lenses in the telescope have made his name world-famous. A weaver by trade, his studies through the aid of this Society doubtless led to his bringing up his eldest son, Peter, as an optician. Peter, on his finishing his apprenticeship, opened a shop in Vine Street, Spitalfields, and this proved so successful that, at the age of 46, the father was able to throw up the loom for a more congenial partnership with his son. Of his discovery, the doubts of his having confuted so great a man as Sir Isaac Newton in his theories, and his fear of publishing what was then so startling a change in the laws of natural philosophy, I have no time now to speak, but it certainly forms no small place in what one might call the history of our Huguenot worthies of Spitalfields.

England has just cause to be grateful for the many things introduced by the Huguenots, and particularly the introduction of the present Benefit Society. Its formation among the refugees was due to its members being of foreign birth, and

[1] Timbs, *Cur. Lon.*

thus having no claim to pensions from the poor rates, thereby giving rise to the foundation between themselves of Societies for their mutual relief in sickness and old age. Mr. Waller, in his able article on early Huguenot Friendly Societies, says :

'It seems generally admitted that the foreign Refugees of Spitalfields were pioneers in the movement and that to them we owe the example of providence which has been followed with such far-reaching and splendid results, . . . and formed the model on which the colossal Friendly Societies of to-day, with their invested millions, have been built up.'[1]

The result of his researches shows that while the Society of Parisians, the earliest Huguenot Society, dated from 1687, the earliest English Society was founded by charter in 1706, some twenty years later. The Societies founded by the refugees were five in number, and, what is more surprising still, is to read that they are in existence at the present day. Mr. Waller in his article furnishes us with such a wealth of detail that further reference is unnecessary, except to the curious fact of their limitation, which still exists, the total membership of the five Societies being 258 in all, the numbers of each Society varying from thirty-five to sixty-one. It is probable that this small membership accounts for their being so little known. Smiles merely refers to the Norman Society of Bethnal Green as having ceased to exist in 1863 (after a life of 150 years) a date which seems to coincide with Mr. John Ferry's history of the Society, mentioned by Mr. Waller in his paper.

I have already mentioned that the district was formerly one largely inhabited by Dissenters. In those days the latter were practically confined to four classes: the Independents, the Anabaptists, the Presbyterians, and the Quakers. Of these the last-named are still found powerfully represented in Spitalfields, and it is not surprising therefore to find many refugees among them. One of them, a friend of Thomas Compton, the master pewterer, was Claud Gay (1706–86), the author of a tract 'Against Profane Swearing,' published in 1780. Another well-known Quaker was Antoine Benezet,

[1] *Hug. Proc.* vol. vi.

born in St. Quentin, Picardy, and bred to the trade of a cooper here in Spitalfields. In 1731 he left with his parents for America and settled in Philadelphia, where he became a Quaker. There he devoted himself to the emancipation of the blacks, for whose children he established and supported schools. He died in 1784, one of their most honoured citizens.

It may not be known that there is a distinct relationship between the Quakers and the French Protestants. Smiles, in his *Huguenots in France after the Revocation*, recalls the visit of one Stephen Grellet, an American Quaker of French descent, to Languedoc in 1807, where around Nismes he held many meetings, and particularly mentions Louis Majolier as a 'father and pillar amongst the little flock.' Smiles also refers to his daughter as a notable preacher among the Friends in England.[1] He gives several places where these Quakers were to be found, but speaks of Cominges as the chief centre, where they had a large and commodious meeting-house. Their origin apparently was the outcome of the Camisard war, when certain Protestants refused to join with the others in taking arms against their adversaries. At the close of the war these men banded together, refusing to take oaths and recognising silent worship without dependence on human acquirements. They continued meeting together, unaware of any similar body until the French Revolution, when intercourse took place between them and the Friends in England and America. They are cited, curiously enough, as the only representatives of that body in France and indeed the whole of Europe.

In Spitalfields, as in the north, weaving was always a home industry, and until the middle of the nineteenth century the factory system was quite unknown. The looms were erected on the top floor, built for the purpose, with long windows and plenty of space in the roof for the complicated upper works of the large draw-looms, and in the latter part of the prosperous times for the Jacquard machine, which took the place of the original draw-loom and draw-boy.[2] Dr. Kay, in his report to

[1] Smiles, *op. cit.*, pp. 281, 282.
[2] Luther Hooper, *Spitalfields Weaving.*

the Poor Law Commissioners in 1837, gives the following description of a weaver's family :

'A weaver has generally two looms, one for his wife, and another for himself, and as his family increases the children are set to work at six or seven years of age to quill silk ; at nine or ten to pick silk ; and at the age of twelve or thirteen (according to the size of the child) he is put to the loom to weave. A child may very soon weave a plain silk fabric, so as to become proficient in that branch ; a weaver has thus, not unfrequently, four looms on which members of his own family are employed.'

On the introduction of the Jacquard loom it is stated that weavers earned as much as 15*s.* a day for the best kind of work, but by 1837, the date of Dr. Kay's Report, the wages varied from an average of 25*s.* a week to as low as 5*s.* a week for inferior work, so that a family of weavers who were fortunate enough to have four looms going would have earned some 2*l.* 10*s.* to 3*l.* 10*s.* per week—a comfortable position even then, had the work been continuous, which unfortunately was not the case. How the status of the weaver altered will be better understood when we point out that in the beginning the mercer merely bought the silk thread, and gave it out to the weaver, who worked it up in designs which were his own especial secret, but later wholesale merchants arose, who kept a stock of woven silk for sale to the retail mercer. These wholesale merchants by degrees, through their connexions abroad, obtained all the newest designs and patterns, and from them they prepared the necessary drawings and also instructions for their weaving, finally even preparing the silk itself, so that at last it only remained for the weaver to finish the silk to pattern. To such an extent did positions alter that the introduction of the Jacquard loom found the machines, cards, and mountings the property of the middlemen, leaving merely the loom-frame and other appliances to the actual weaver.[1]

Knowing the original position of the weaver, prosperous and, with his own designs, entire master of the situation, one can better understand why Hogarth in his pictures of the industrious

[1] Luther Hooper, *Spitalfields Weaving.*

A SPITAFIELDS WEAVER AT WORK
Photo. by Rev. J. H. Scott, 1894.

(By permission of Rev. C. H. Chard, Rector of Spitalfields)

and idle apprentices should have chosen a Spitalfields silk weaver as the master, and that the prosperity of the industrious apprentice should be shown by his marriage to his master's daughter and finally as a master weaver by his attaining the highest dignity open to a worthy citizen of London, the Lord Mayor's chair itself.

Of royalty's patronage it may be truly said that from the time of Frederick Prince of Wales, father of George III, Spitalfields has enjoyed a very fair share. Not only George IV but Queen Adelaide, as I have been told, frequently visited the district. A connexion of mine, who recently died in La Providence, used to tell of Her Majesty's visits to their home. Her father was the weaver of a dress intended as a gift by the City, and during its making Queen Adelaide made frequent visits to his home to watch its progress. Her Majesty unfortunately died soon after its completion, and, as far as I know, never had the pleasure of wearing the dress she had watched grow into being.

Among the many charities recorded of that charming daughter of George IV, Princess Charlotte, is mentioned the ordering of 12,000 yards of silk to furnish her newly married home, Claremont, and at the same time to give some relief to the weavers. Like her royal father, who furnished Carlton House and the Pavilion at Brighton with the old Spitalfields brocades, it is evident that the Princess also considered the old weavers' work the best obtainable.

In later days it is not surprising to read, as I have mentioned, of Prince Albert and Queen Victoria visiting the Sholls to inspect their beehives, and the interesting exhibits sent by the Spitalfields weavers to that at first highly abused but eminently successful exhibition in Hyde Park, which was entirely the idea of Queen Victoria's beloved husband Prince Albert, must not be forgotten.

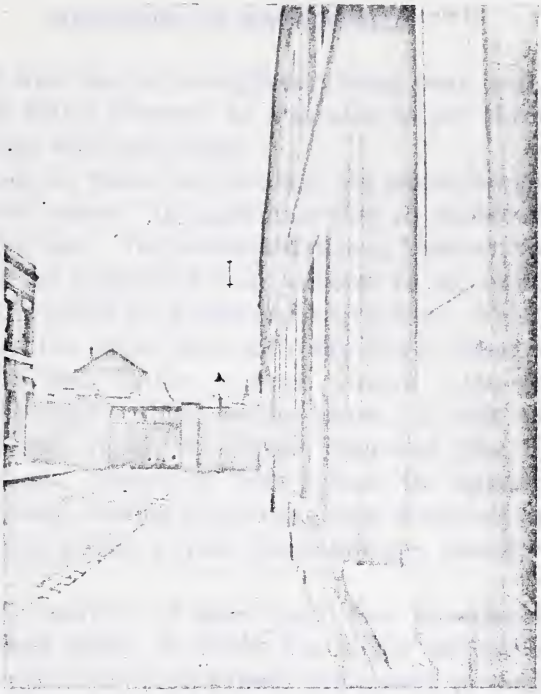
To-day our Queen has shown her interest in a revival of the hand-loom weaving in Spitalfields, which in June 1911 was started by Sir Henry Buckingham, the proceeds of sale being devoted to the Prince Francis of Teck Memorial Fund. But the personal interest, which our royalty felt from their

own descent, in their Huguenot subjects has naturally largely diminished as time has advanced, and the Huguenot element has almost vanished.

Farther afield, in Bethnal Green, is still to be found a remnant of the old colony in Spitalfields, descendants of the Huguenot silk weavers. Possibly the most important of these old Huguenot weavers to-day is Mr. George Dorée, the weaver of both the velvet for King Edward's coronation robes and also of the purple velvet for Queen Alexandra's robe. A specimen of each is lovingly enshrined in a glass case as a memento of a piece of work unanimously declared by experts to be the finest piece of velvet ever woven. It gives one some idea of the tremendous labour involved to learn that 33,000 threads went to the square inch, and that a whole week's work only produced three and a half yards, or little more than half a yard a day. In all, the royal velvet took five months to weave, the result practically being as near perfection as possible, and it is little to be surprised at that Mr. Dorée should consider it as *the* work of his life. It may be interesting to put on record that the order for both velvets was given by Messrs. Bailey, Fox & Co., of Trump Street, to whose Mr. Fox I am indebted for many items of assistance.

Personally Mr. Dorée strikes one as a typical Huguenot. Blue eyes, fair hair, striking features, and above all his courteous and refined manners betoken the descent of which we are all so proud, and which always adds so much to the pleasure one has in meeting a fellow Huguenot. Handwork we know naturally makes for intellect, and, looking at Mr. Dorée, one realises how true a saying this is. More's the pity that he and his class are doomed to extinction, and that probably with him will end the famous race of the hand-loom weavers. Outside his house is the formerly well-known sign of a hand-stick, at one time used by all weavers, but of the Union of Hand-stick Weavers, sixty in all, Mr. Dorée is the sole survivor.

A picture of this sign was given in an Australian paper, and this prompted a colonial lady to write to Mr. Dorée and ask if he knew her family. To Mr. Dorée's surprise the family



THE WEAVER'S SIGN
Mr. Dorée's house in Alma Road

THE WEAVER'S WINDOW
Houses in Cranbrook Street of the old type

inquired for was that of a neighbour living next door, and, much to the lady's pleasure, he was able to put them into communication with each other.

Alma Road, in which he lives, and the streets around are full of weavers' houses. In appearance they are double-fronted houses of a fair size. The accommodation is, however, limited, the whole of the upper floor being devoted to the workroom, the entrance to which is by steps and a trap-door. This, when closed, makes the upper floor into one large oblong room, lighted at the back by the 'weavers' window'—the window extending the whole width of the house. A visit to this quarter will well repay, to anyone interested, the trouble of getting there. Streets of these houses, the upper rooms with their looms showing against the light of the windows at the back, indicate what a trade the hand-loom weaving must have been.[1]

Spitalfields weavers of later days were remarkable for extremely small heads, no doubt due to the privations and poverty through which their parents had passed, producing as time went on smaller children as a result. Such as I can remember were little wizened old men of small stature, and bent from continual leaning at the loom, but entirely French in their ways, and cheerful and merry in spite of all. I have been told that the journeymen weavers of nearly a century ago were of two distinct classes—the sporting class, who spent their money on cock-fighting and so on—and the quieter class, who lived well and dressed accordingly. It was customary among the latter every Saturday night, when all were free from work, to have at six o'clock a big family dinner, and then all the old family silver, carefully cherished as the relic of former days, would be brought out.

The acute poverty of later days was actually the means of increasing their misery, for, as appeals on their behalf met with a generous response from Englishmen generally, amounting to

[1] These houses were all built about 1848 to the design of a Mr. Wright, who married a woman weaver. The frontage of each house is 29 feet, this being the length of the upper room, and on the ground floor are four living rooms.

almost an annual grant, this very fact attracted many outside poor to the district. It is possibly for this reason that we find writers describing the weavers in the later days as principally of English origin, though the masters were French. As proof to the contrary one has only, even now, to go to Bethnal Green and Shoreditch to find many French families still living there. In the streets one can still notice that indescribable French appearance among many of the poor women, a something which marks her out apart from the ordinary English or Jewish type.

Between themselves up to quite recent days it was customary to use French in greeting one another, small phrases handed down and used by otherwise English-speaking families. The shrug of the shoulder, and the movement of the hands, so peculiarly French in their origin and use, may still be noticed with amusement among the descendants of these old-time Frenchmen, and though by intermarriage many of these characteristics are but little shown in the present generation, yet in times of excitement the old peculiarities still reveal themselves.

It is said that the descendants of the Huguenots show in repose a characteristically sad face, due to the trials of their forbears. Whether this is so or not I cannot say, but I have heard that students of phrenology are able to trace at once the Huguenot blood by the face. A relative of mine, a merry girl, was asked to her surprise by a gentleman to whom she was introduced to which Huguenot family she belonged. Weiss also mentions that the English recognised the descendants of the refugees by the vivacity of their character, and by certain phrases peculiar to them, and that although they considered them their fellow-citizens they were apt to reproach them with levity and frivolity and with observing the Sabbath with insufficient strictness. He then proceeds to say that the Spitalfields workmen have but little recollection of their foreign origin, a statement possibly due to the wish at that date to appear quite English. I can only add that my own experience is quite otherwise. Not merely their Huguenot origin but often the very place and the original name of the

family is carefully preserved, and handed down from father to son.

Only the other day, travelling in a tram in the East End, a working-man spoke to me as to the papers I had out before me, and, finding I was of Huguenot descent, gave me the whole of his family history, in which it was evident he took a great pride, and on parting we shook hands with the pleasant feeling each of having met a brother in a strange land. Indeed, if there is one thing more than another among the very poor which strikes a stranger, it is that the so-called 'family pride,' a sure sign of a family who have known better days, is only to be found too commonly among these old Huguenot families. If one needed any confirmation of this it is ready to hand in a letter from the Rev. Isaac Taylor, a former vicar of St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green, who wrote:

'The descendants of the emigrants still continue to inhabit the district. Many of them still cherish the proud traditions of their ancestry; many of them, though now perhaps only clad in rags, bear the old historic names of France—names of distinguished generals and statesmen and poets and historians—names such as Vendôme, Ney, Racine, Defoe, La Fontaine, Dupin, Blois, Lebeau, Auvache, Fontaineau, and Montier. In addition to their surnames and their traditions, the only relic which these exiles retain of their former prosperity and gentle nurture is a traditional love of birds and flowers.'

Curiously enough, this letter was written to the public press at very nearly the same date as Weiss wrote his book, in which, as I have mentioned, he gives quite a different idea. Personally I would rather take the evidence of Mr. Taylor as the more correct.

The most interesting period in the history of Spitalfields is from 1830 to 1860, but, as by then Huguenot interest had ceased, I close by quoting once again Weiss, who in 1854 writes:

'At the commencement of the nineteenth century. . . . The fierce wars of the Republic, the Continental System, and the long struggle, which lasted till the end of the Empire, having revived

the old hatred between France and England, the descendants of the exiles, whose interests were completely identified with those of the English, would no longer avow their origin. . . . Thenceforward the French colony in London no longer existed. At the present day the only vestige that remains is in the Spitalfields district, where a few thousand artizans, for the most part poor, still betray their origin, less by their language than by their costume, which bears some resemblance to that of the corresponding class in Louis XIV's time.'

To us, Spitalfields is to-day but a memory of the past, a memory of mixed feelings, a shrinking from the disclosure of those days of dire poverty and struggle for existence, coupled with a pride that our families should have attained the positions they now occupy; but when we consider what all those struggles meant, and remember the world-wide fame that their industry won, we are only too proud to claim, what we may truly term that hall-mark of Huguenot ancestry, the descent from an old-time Spitalfields weaver.

APPENDICES.

I. Appellants in 1742 against the Fines inflicted for not attending the County Sessions as Jurors.

Peter Delamere, Throwster,		
Abraham Cole, Weaver.		
William Horabin, Calenderer.		
George Slaughter, Weaver.		
Peter Chauvet,	,,	
Thomas Halstead,	,,	
Thomas Durham,	,,	
Jacob Cooley,	,,	(? Coullet.)
John Callow,	,,	(? Caillau.)
John Mooley,	,,	(? Moullé.)
Thomas Mason.	,,	(? Masson.)

II. Supplement to the List of Volunteers in 1745 (Published in Volume II, p. 455).

	No. of men.		No. of men.
John Baker	75	Locke & Hinde	30
Thomas Beck	10	Jeremiah Mather	18
Bray. *See* Reynolds & Bray		Henry Napton	10
Guy Bryan	4	Abraham Newhouse	18
William Cooks	10	John Payton	46
Abraham David, jr.	8	John Peck	20
Reuben Foxwell	28	John Powell	33
Cope Gallatley	4	,,	1
John Gibson	10	Reynolds & Bray	107
Daniel Giles	40	Thomas Rogers	12
Elizabeth & Joseph Green	32	Nathaniel Rothery	10
John Harley	14	John Russell & Son	4
Hinde. *See* Locke & Hinde		William Salter	12
John Hunt, senr.	17	John Shields	5
,, junr.	8	William Smith	8
Thomas Jervis	4	John & Robert Turner	102
James Johnson	70	Thomas Turner	13
Thomas Jones	6	John Ward	4
Joseph King	21	Samuel Worral	7
Robert Lee	41		

Note.

After the reading of Mr. Manchée's paper before the Society on March 12, 1913, the following remarks in response to an invitation from the Chairman were made by the Rev. Wilfred H. Davies, Rector of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, and formerly for twelve years Rector of Spitalfields. Spitalfields, he said, still had a fascination for a good many people, in spite of its changed condition. For himself, he looked back upon his twelve years of residence there with pleasure and gratitude, and he felt no grudge against even the fried-fish shops, which seemed to try so many people.

He would like to touch upon a few of the points mentioned in the paper. It was sad as well as interesting to know that the need for St. Mary's Church in Spital Square had ceased to exist, and that the church had recently been sold, and the parish of St. Mary incorporated in that of Christ Church. They had been told

that Spitalfields was, in the Huguenot period, a kind of headquarters of Nonconformity. To-day not a single Nonconformist chapel could be found there: except for one or two Jewish synagogues the old parish church held entire possession.

The remark that the Huguenots had been described as small in stature had struck him, and looking back he remembered how true it was of many of the descendants of Huguenots whom he had known in Spitalfields. Small, but well-formed, graceful, with strikingly intelligent faces, neat and precise in habit, he could recall them distinctly, one by one, as he had known them during his twelve years of residence there.

Two things were always conspicuous: one, the intense pride of the Huguenot, however humble his station, of his Huguenot descent; and the other, the affection and respect always shown on every hand for the Huguenot. This latter point was frequently noticeable at meetings of, say, trustees of charities. If doubts arose as to the relative merits of candidates for the benefits of a charity, one was always conscious of scoring a point by saying 'Mr. So and So is a Huguenot.' The thrift, honesty, industry, and sobriety of the race had always been recognised.

The extent, he said, of the trade of the 'Profitable Strangers' was so great that in 1713 they found 'that silks, gold and silver stuffs, and ribbons, were made here as good as those of French fabric; and that black silk for hoods and scarves was made actually worth 300,000*l.*'

The parish hall in Hanbury Street (formerly Brown's Lane) is a building of much historic interest. It was decorated some years ago by the Kyrle Society, who painted upon its south wall the head of Charles Dickens and also the head of a Huguenot. It was in that hall that Charles Dickens met Sam Weller and his mother at a tea meeting; and it was near by that he made the acquaintance of Bill Sykes. But the hall originally was a Huguenot chapel, and was the first 'temple' erected by the refugees, and known, he believed, as 'La Patente.' The original coat of arms, which conveyed to the French settlers the royal permission to hold services there, still retained its place on the south wall of the large hall.

In spite of their many excellent qualities it seemed to him that, after all, the Huguenots were little better than other people on occasions.

For example, in 1832, when no less than 50,000 people were engaged in silk manufacture, with 14,000 to 17,000 looms at work,

and when, from time to time, many of the weavers were unemployed, a decline in prices, or opposition in trade, speedily led to riots. It was on record that on one occasion the estimable weavers—not all, perhaps, Huguenots—sallied out in parties and tore off all the calico gowns from all the women they met! Then in 1765 there was their great procession, headed by red flags and black banners, to Westminster, to present a petition to the House complaining that they were reduced to starvation by the importation of French silks; and the behaviour of these gentlemen became such that a detachment of Guards was called out and the Riot Act read. And at a more recent date we find bands of Spitalfields weavers breaking into houses and cutting the looms of men who were working with improved machinery. Of course, he only mentioned these trifles for their souls' good, and lest they should be 'puffed up.'

Many of the Spitalfields houses had been very beautiful, large, and richly decorated with carved oak. They bore dates which led one to think that they had been erected and occupied by Huguenots, and in many of them the top floor windows still retained their old design.

Mr. Davies referred to an interesting example of the skill of the Spitalfields operatives given in Mr. Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the London Poor.* When in 1870 the promulgation of the celebrated decree of Papal Infallibility had been resolved upon, it was deemed necessary that the Pope should wear at the attendant ceremony a new vestment woven entirely in one piece. Italy, France, and other European countries were vainly searched for a weaver capable of executing this work, and at last the order came to England, where in Spitalfields was found the only man able to make the garment, and he, by a strange irony of fate, one of the erstwhile persecuted Huguenot race!

Silk manufacture was by no means the only industry the Huguenots brought with them. Pottery, hats, shoes, leather, and glass were all produced by them. They showed, too, a remarkable fondness for flowers, and vied with each other in the production of the finest plants. One of the first floricultural Societies in England was that established by the exiles in Spitalfields. They introduced the art of cooking, at that time almost unknown in the homes of English workpeople. Before their arrival in London butchers invariably sold the bullock hides to the fellmongers with the tails on, which were eventually thrown away. These strangers, who knew their value, profited by our ignorance, and obtained them at a very small price and made with them the delicacy called ox-tail soup.

The Church of Guînes.

By WILLIAM MINET, F.S.A.

The Register of the Church of Guînes was one of the earliest of our Society's publications.[1] Since the date of its issue (1891) the history of the church has from time to time been further illuminated by subsequent researches, and the occasion of a fresh discovery seems to justify a summing up of what has already appeared on the subject, both in our Proceedings and elsewhere, during the past twenty-two years.

Our earliest definite information was derived from a document of 1612, fifty-six years before the first entry was made in the Register, and it disclosed the friction existing at that date between Catholics and Protestants in the Calaisis.[2]

The internal organisation of the church stood revealed to us by the discovery of its accounts covering the years 1660–1681; and, almost contemporary with this, comes its Register (1668–1685), referred to above. The record left by Isaac Minet threw a vivid light on the destruction of the church (1685) and on the persecution endured by its members[3]; while of such of them as came to Dover we have full records in the Register of the Dover Church,[4] and in the accounts kept by its *anciens* (1688–1731), as well as in the Minute Books covering the same period.[5] Quite recently we have heard the story of a Guînes family which suffered under the persecution,[6] and we have come to know from this yet more of what that persecution meant, and how it was met. To all these sources of informa-

[1] *Publications*, vol. iii.
[2] *Proceedings*, vol. viii. 237.
[3] The Huguenot family of Minet, 1892.
[4] Printed by F. A. Crisp, 1892.
[5] *Proceedings*, vol. vi. 138.
[6] *Ibid.* vol. x. 98.

tion may be added the map of the Calaisis of 1680 (issued shortly after the publication of the Register), on which are found many, though far from all, of the places in the district whence the members of the church came.

The result of all this information is that we know more of the Guînes Church than of any other Huguenot church in France—both in respect of the history and constitution of the church itself and of the life story of many of its members: and here let us recognise that our knowledge is largely due to Monsieur Célestin Landrin, of Calais, from whom has come much of the material which has gone to form the papers enumerated above. Again, to-day, we are his debtors; and if, on two sides, we can throw yet further light on the Guînes Church, it is to him that we owe it.

Appendix A to the Register published in 1891 gives such identification of the places of origin, and residence of the persons named in the text, as was then possible; but the ignorance and inexperience of the editors at that date combined to make the list a very defective one. Only detailed local knowledge could serve to make such a list in any way complete: Monsieur Landrin, who possesses this knowledge, has always promised to revise this Appendix, and to-day his promise stands redeemed. The list which follows is therefore to be taken in substitution of Appendix A of the original volume.

Index Géographique
des Registres du Temple de Guînes
1668–1685

Abbeville.—Capitale du comté de Ponthieu. Gouvernement de Picardie. Aujourd'hui chef-lieu d'arrondissement (Somme). Eglise réformée avant 1685.

Aire.—Aire-sur-la-Lys. Ville de l'Artois, reprise aux Espagnols en 1676. Chef-lieu de canton de l'arrondissement de St. Omer (Pas-de-Calais).

Allembon.—Alembon. Paroisse du gouvernement d'Ardres. Aujourd'hui village du canton de Guînes, arrondissement de

Boulogne-sur-mer. La Chronique de l'Eglise réformée de Lille du pasteur Frossard mentionne l'existence d'une église protestante à Alembon, à la fin du XVIe Siècle.

AMIENS.—Capitale du gouvernement de Picardie, sur la route de Paris à Calais. Aujourd'hui chef-lieu du département de la Somme. La ville d'Amiens compta des huguenots dès les premiers jours de la Réforme. *Histoire des Protestants de Picardie*, par le pasteur Rossier.

ANDRE.—Andres. Paroisse du Pays-Reconquis. Aujourd'hui village du canton de Guînes. Les protestants des Flandres et de l'Artois avaient sans doute remarqué, dès le commencement du XVIIe Siècle, les avantages qu'offrait le sol de cette commune, une des mieux partagées du canton au point de vue agricole.

ANNECHIN.—Annezin. Pays d'Artois. Village du canton et de l'arrondissement de Béthune (Pas-de-Calais).

ARDENTHUN.—Hardenthun, dépendance de Marquise, arrondissement de Boulogne-sur-mer. Ancienne Seigneurie du Boulonnais.

ARDRES.—Petite ville, à 4 lieues de Calais. Gouvernement ou bailliage souverain. Aujourd'hui chef-lieu de canton, arrondissement de St. Omer. Ardres relevait administrativement de l'Intendance de Picardie.

ARNEZ.—Arnex, canton de Vaud ; autrefois pays de Vaux, dans le canton de Berne en Suisse.

ARRAS.—Capitale de l'Artois. Aujourd'hui chef-lieu du Pas-de-Calais. Cette ville a été rendue à la France en 1659. On y trouve de très bonne heure des réformés.

ATTAQUES (LES).—Village du canton sud-est de Calais. Autrefois dépendance de Marck. Erigé en commune en 1835. On disait aussi le 'Bas-Marck.'

AUTHINGUE.—Autingues, village du canton d'Ardres.

AUXAUVILLE.—Auzouville, pays de Caux (Normandie). Village de l'arrondissement de Dieppe, dans la Seine-Inférieure.

AVIS-SUR-AUTHYE.—C'est une mauvaise orthographe. On a voulu dire 'Vitz-sur-Authie,' village du canton de Crécy, arrondissement d'Abbeville (Somme).

BACQUEVILLE.—Pays de Caux (Normandie). Chef-lieu de canton de l'arrondissement de Dieppe, dans la Seine-Inférieure.

BAILLEUL.—Ville de Flandre. Aujourd'hui chef-lieu de canton, arrondissement d'Hazebrouck (Nord). Cédée par l'Espagne à la France en 1678.

BAILLEUX.—*Vide supra.*

BALINGHUEN.—Balinghem, village du Calaisis, aujourd'hui du canton d'Ardres. Le célèbre peintre Henry Testelin avait épousé Anne Loisel originaire de ce village. En 1677, Mme. Anne Loisel, femme d'Henry Testelin, donne 100 livres pour les pauvres du Temple de Guînes. Lorsqu'il est question, en 1642, de reconstruire l'église de Balinghem, on constate qu'il se trouve peu de catholiques dans ce village.

BARREAUX (LES).—Château perché comme un nid d'aigle au sommet d'un rocher très escarpé, non loin des carrières du Haut-Banc, commune de Réty, canton de Marquise, arrondissement de Boulogne. Ce château fut bâti, au commencement du XVIIIe Siècle, par Louis de Guizelin, époux de Judic de Licques. C'étaient des huguenots notables. Une pierre commémorative, placée autrefois au-dessus de la porte d'entrée, se voit encore dans le jardin de cette habitation. Près de là se voit un bâtiment où se réunissaient les protestants de l'endroit et qu'on appelle encore 'le Temple' (Elinghen, commune de Ferques).

BAS-MARCQ (LE).—Hameau qui s'appelle aujourd'hui les Attaques. Voir ce mot.

BAZINGHUEN.—Bazinghen. Paroisse du Boulonnais. Sur une colline très élevée. Canton de Marquise. Abot de Bazinghen a écrit l'histoire du pays.

BELLE-VEUË.—Belle-Vue, ferme, commune de Peuplingues, canton nord-ouest de Calais.

BERGUE.—Bergues-St.-Winox. Place de guerre de la Flandre prise par Louis XIV en 1677. Ville du département du Nord, chef-lieu de canton, arrondissement d'Hazebrouck.

BERNÂTRE.—Village de département de la Somme, canton de Bernaville, arrondissement de Doullens. Plusieurs seigneurs picards tinrent des assemblées publiques de réformés dans leurs châteaux. Ainsi faisait Daniel de Boubers à Bernâtre, en Ponthieu, où il avait sa résidence effective.

BERNE (canton de).—Suisse.

BERNE.—Hameau, commune de Leulinghem, canton de Marquise, en Boulonnais.

BERTINGUEN.—Bertinghem, hameau, commune de Bazinghem, canton de Marquise. En Boulonnais.

BETRESEM.—Localité indiquée dans l'acte de mariage du 14 mai 1684 comme étant 'au Palatinat.' Peut-être veut-on dire

'Bensheim' (Hesse), au-dessus de Manheim où il y avait des protestants de Guînes au XVIIe Siècle ?

BEUVRECAN.—Beuvrequen, village du canton de Marquise. Paroisse du Boulonnais.

BIMONT.—Village du canton d'Hucqueliers, arrondissement de Montreuil. Paroisse du Boulonnais.

BOISSENARDE.—Bois-en-Ardres ; village dépendant d'Ardres.

BONDUŸ.—Boudry, petite ville près du lac de Neufchâtel, en Suisse.

BOUCRE.—Boucres, village du canton de Guînes, sur le bord d'un marais tourbeux, réuni à Hames (voir ce mot) depuis 1819. Paroisse du gouvernement de Calais.

BOULOGNE.—Boulogne-sur-mer. Il y eut de bonne heure des réformés dans cette ville. Ezéchiel Daunois, pasteur de l'Eglise réformée du Boulonnais—1633-1650—est mort à Thorney Abbey où il a sa pierre tombale. *Mémoires de la Commission départementale des Monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais*, t. III (1909).

BOUPBÉE.—Bousbecque, canton de Tourcoing, arrondissement de Lille ; en Flandres ; fait partie d'un groupe de localités autrefois flamandes et aujourd'hui francisées.

BOURBOURG.—Ville du département du Nord. Chef-lieu de canton, arrondissement de Dunkerque. Flandre flamingante.

BOURDES.—Bourthes, canton d'Hucqueliers, arrondissement de Montreuil. Paroisse du Boulonnais.

BRÊMES-LÈS-ARDRES.—Village du canton d'Ardres, dans une plaine fertile, adossé au nord à un marais tourbeux.

BRENOCQ.—Brecknock. S. Wales. Pays de Galles, en Angleterre.

BURAS.—C'est 'Duras,' chef-lieu de canton du département de Lot-et-Garonne, arrondissement de Marmande. En Agénois, contrée de France dans la Guienne.

BURET.—Burey, canton de Conches, arrondissement d'Evreux (Eure), en Normandie.

CADZAN (pays de).—En Zélande. On écrit aussi Catzan et Cadsand, village de ce nom. Pierre Trouillart, en quittant Guînes, se réfugia en Hollande et devint pasteur de Cadsand, en 1686.

CAEN.—Ancienne capitale dela Basse-Normandie. Patrie de Samuel Bochard, ministre très savant, mort en 1667. Aujourd'hui chef-lieu du département du Calvados.

CAFFIER.—Caffiers, village du canton de Guînes, sur le versant extrême de la fosse boulonnaise. Paroisse du Boulonnais.

CALLIMOTTE (LA).—La Caillemotte, ferme sur Sangatte, canton nord-ouest de Calais, donnée avec la seigneurie dont elle était le chef-lieu à Monchy de Sénarpont après la reprise de Calais. Passa aux Ruvigny. Les protestants y avaient un cimetière. A côté se trouve 'La petite Calimotte.'

CALLOTERIE (LA).—La Calotterie, village du canton de Montreuil-sur-mer.

CAMIÉ.—Camiers, village du canton d'Etaples, arrondissement Montreuil. En Boulonnais.

CANTORBERY.—Canterbury, au comté de Kent.

CARRIÈRES (LES).—Lieu dit, commune de Marquise. Fief à Jean Courtois, protestant.

CASSEL.—Ville de la Flandre occidentale. Chef-lieu de canton, arrondissement d'Hazebrouck.

CAUCHOISE (LA).—Hameau et territoire de la commune d'Ardres, près du pont à quatre branches, autrement dit le Pont-sans-Pareil. Dans le terrier anglais (XVIe Siècle) cet endroit est appelé 'Coustwade.' Flamand: *Kost Wade* (gué du péage) = couchewade, nom ancien.

CHASTELET (LE).—Le Catelet, hameau de la commune de Bourthes, canton d'Hucqueliers, arrondissement de Montreuil, où il y avait encore des huguenots en 1725.

CHOQUET (LE).—Le Choquel, hameau, commune de St. Martin-Choquel, canton de Desvres, arrondissement de Boulogne-sur-mer.

CLARIS.—Canton de Glaris, à l'orient de la Suisse.

CLENLEU.—Village du canton d'Hucqueliers, arrondissement de Montreuil, dans une vallée profonde jadis environnée d'épaisses forêts. C'est là que naquit, en 1573, Jacques de Senlecques surnommé 'le prince des graveurs en caractères.' En 1725, il y avait encore des huguenots à Clenleu.

CLERMONT.—Chef-lieu d'arrondissement (Oise), à 6 lieues de Beauvais. Ile de France. Eglise réformée avant 1685.

CLERSOU.—Clairsou, hameau partie sur Guînes et partie sur Andres. *Claes wood* et *Claies wood*, 1556 (plan et terrier anglais).

COHU (LA).—Ferme et grande étendue de pâturages, à l'extrémité de Coulogne (v. ce mot) vers Guînes. En 1638, Jacques Six, laboureur, demeurant au Cohu, paroisse de Coulogne, était diacre de l'église réformée de Guînes.

CONDETTE.—Village du canton de Samer, arrondissement de Boulogne. Ancienne paroisse du Boulonnais.

CONVERSERIE (LA).—Ferme, commune de St. Etienne, canton de Samer (arrond. de Boulogne). Fief aux de Haffrengue.

COQUELLES.—Ancien village du canton nord-ouest de Calais, sur la route de Boulogne. De la vieille église romane il reste la tour mélancolique et solitaire. Le village actuel se trouve à La Chaussée (v. ce mot).

CORMONT.—Village du canton d'Etaples, arrondissement de Montreuil, sur un affluent de la Canche. En Boulonnais.

CORTAILLAU.—Cortaillod, village considérable du canton de Neuchâtel (Suisse).

COSSENAY.—Cossonay, petite ville du canton de Vaud, autrefois pays de Vaud, dans le canton de Berne, bailliage de Morges.

COULONGE.—Coulogne, autrefois 'Colonia Sti Wulmari.' Ancienne église démolie en 1858. Le chaire et la balustrade du temple de Guînes y avaient été transportées, dit on, après 1685. Les protestants, qui étaient nombreux à Coulogne, y avaient un cimetière.

CRÉMAREST.—Village du canton de Desvres. En Boulonnais.

CUBLANDS.—Cublanc. Bourg du département de la Corrèze (Limousin), à 4 lieues S. O. de Brives.

DANE.—Dannes. Village du canton de Samer, ancienne paroisse du Boulonnais.

DÉVRE.—Desvres, chef-lieu de canton de l'arrondissement de Boulogne. Ville de loi du Boulonnais. Bailliage et prévôté royale. Forêt qui fournit du bois à bâtir et à brûler.

DIEPPE.—Ville de Normandie (Seine-Inférieure).

DOMBROY.—Indiqué comme étant une localité près de Lille. Je ne trouve pas d'endroit portant ce nom. Peut-être a-t-on voulu dire 'Lompret,' canton de Quesnoy-sur-Deule, arrondissement de Lille. Il y avait de nombreux protestants dans ce quartier de la Flandre.

DUNQUERQUE.—Dunkerque. Ville maritime de la Flandre française. Louis XIV acheta cette ville à Charles II en 1662.

EMMERIC.—Emmerik, ville de la Prusse Rhénane, à 3 lieues de Clèves, dans le district de Düsseldorf.

ENTRE-GAND.—Je ne trouve aucune localité de ce nom. N'est ce pas 'Dentergem,' dans la Flandre occidentale, chef-lieu Bruges, arrondissement de Thielt? Il y a aussi 'Dringham,' arrondissement de Dunkerque.

ERBERFELT.—Elberfeld, ville sur la Wipper, district de Düsseldorf (Prusse Rhénane).

ERLINGHUEM.—Hervelinghen. En patois : 'Herblinghen.' Canton de Marquise. Dépendait du Calaisis.

ESPITRE.—Epitres. Hameau de la commune de Beuvrequen, sur le versant d'une colline traversée par la route nationale de Paris à Calais. 'Dieppitte,' au XIIIe Siècle. En patois : 'Depitre.'

ESTAPPES.—Etaples, chef-lieu de canton, arrondissement de Montreuil. Patrie de Lefèvre d'Etaples, un des pères de la Réforme, traducteur de la Bible. En Picardie.

ESTAQUES.—Nom ancien de Attaques. (V. ce mot).

ETAQUES.—*Idem.*

ETIEMPUS.—Estaimpuis. Village du Hainaut, Belgique. Flandre. Non loin de Lille. Nom d'origine germanique.

ETRIELLE.—Estréelles. Canton d'Etaples, arrondissement de Montreuil. Au XVIe Siècle, les seigneurs d'Estréelles avaient embrassé la réforme, et leur château servait aux assemblées religieuses des protestants du pays. Voir le travail d'Alph. Lefebvre, *Mémoires de la Commission des Monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais*, et l'*Epigraphie de l'arrondissement de Montreuil* : par Roger Rodière.

FERTÉ-VIDAME (LA).—Chef-lieu de canton de l'arrondissement de Dreux (Eure-et-Loire). Temple de l'Eglise réformée avant 1685. Perche.

FÉTUBERT.—Festubert. Village du canton de Cambrin, arrondissement de Béthune. Artois.

FIENNES.—Village du canton de Guînes assis dans la fosse Boulonnaise, tout près des collines qui en font l'enceinte et qui la séparent de la plaine de Guînes. Paroisse du Boulonnais.

FLESSINGUE.—Vlissingen. (Zélande.)

FLEURBAY.—Fleurbaix. Canton de Laventie, arrondissement de Béthune ; pays de Lalleu.

FONTAINEBLEAU.—Chef-lieu d'arrondissement (Seine-et-Marne). Temple protestant avant 1685. Dans le Gâtinois.

FORT-BRÛLÉ.—Indiqué comme étant sur la 'paroisse de Marcq., Son emplacement peut se trouver actuellement à quelques pas au nord du Pont-Sans-Pareil, sur le territoire des Attaques (V. ce mot).

FORT D'HÉNUIN.—Hameau dépendant des communes de St. Folquin. de St. Marie-Kerque et d'Audruick. Canton d'Audruick (arrond. de St. Omer).

FORT DE LINCQ.—Linck, commune de Cappelbrouck, canton de Bourbourg, arrondissement de Dunkerque.

FORT NIEULAY.—Près de Calais, à l'ouest. Autrefois sur le territoire de St. Pierre.

FRELINGHUEN.—Ferlinghem. S'écrivait autrefois Frelinghen. Village aujourd'hui réuni à Brêmes, canton d'Ardres.

FRELINGHUEN.—Frelinghien, village du canton d'Armentières, arrondissement de Lille ; en Flandres.

FRENS.—Frencq, canton d'Etaples, arrondissement de Montreuil.

FRETUN.—Fréthun, village du canton nord-ouest de Calais, à l'occident d'un marais tourbeux. Paroisse du Pays-reconquis.

GENÈVE.—

GIEZ-SUR-SEINE.—Gyé-sur-Seine, canton de Mussy, arrondissement de Bar-sur-Seine (Aube).

GINGIN.—Indiqué comme étant du canton de Berne. C'est Gingins, canton de Vaud, au bailliage du Bon-Mont, 'l'un des trois que les Bernois ont le long du mont Jura.'

GRANRO . . . OURT.—En Artois. Ce doit être Grand-Rullecourt, canton d'Avesnes-le-Comte, arrondissement de St. Pol.

GRAVELINES.—Petite ville fortifiée. Flandre française ; à l'embouchure de l'Aa, sur la frontière de l'Artois.

GROUDE-EN-CADZAN.—Groede (Zélande), à l'entrée de l'Escaut.

GUEMP.—Guemps. Village du canton d'Audruick, arrondissement de St. Omer, sur un sol uni et aquatique. Paroisse du Pays-Reconquis.

GUÎNES.—Autrefois la métropole du protestantisme dans la région du Nord. Temple fameux démoli après 1685. Aujourd'hui chef-lieu de canton de l'arrondissement de Boulogne-sur-mer.

HAMES.—Village du canton de Guînes, réuni à Hames depuis 1819, ayant vers l'orient un marais tourbeux. Forteresse du temps de l'occupation anglaise dont on voit encore d'importants vestiges. Plusieurs historiens avancent—mais je n'en trouve pas la preuve—que le village de Hames est une des localités où l'édit de Nantes permit l'établissement d'un temple protestant. Calaisis.

HAUDEMBERG.—Audembert. Village du canton de Marquise, arrondissement de Boulogne. Une branche de la famille Le Cat, qui y possédait plusieurs fiefs, était huguenote. Boulonnais.

HAZWINGHE.—On écrit aussi 'Hazuingue.' Hasewinkel (1286). Ferme et fief, à Réty, près du château des Barreaux (v. ce mot).

HEDEN L'ABBÉ.—Hesdin-l'abbé. Village du canton de Samer. Paroisse du Boulonnais.

HERVELINGHUEN.—V. Erlinghuem.

HOFQUERQUE.—Offekerque, village de canton d'Audruick, sur un sol marécageux et découvert. Hove-Kirke (terrier anglais); Hove-Kerke, en Flamand. Calaisis.

HUBERSANT.—Hubersent, village du canton d'Etaples, arrondissement de Montreuil, en Boulonnais.

HUITMIL.—Wimille; village du canton-nord de Boulogne-sur-mer. En Boulonnais.

ILE D'OLERON.—Dans l'Océan atlantique, arrondissement de Marennes. (Charente-Inférieure.) Sur la côte de l'Aunis.

IPRES.—Ypres. Cette ville prise par Louis XIV en 1678 resta à France par suite du traité de Nimègue. Le receveur des domaines du roi à Ypres était, en 1679, un huguenot originaire de Desvres en Boulonnais.

IVERDUN.—V. Yverdun.

KIDRICHS.—C'est Kieldrecht, village de la Flandre orientale (Belgique).

LA CHAUSSÉE.—Hameau qui tire son nom du grand chemin qui y passe pour se diriger vers Calais. C'est maintenant l'agglomération principale de la commune de Coquelles. (V. ce mot.)

LA COUTURE.—Canton de Béthune. (Pas-de-Calais.)

LA HAYE.—Ferme, commune d'Ardres, qui tire son nom de la clôture de broussailles et d'épines qui défendait les approches des fossés de la ville.

LA HAYE.—Château qui s'élève sur la lisière de la forêt de Condette (territoire de Nesles), canton de Samer. En Boulonnais. Lieu de réunion des protestants des environs.

LALLEU (pays de).—Entre l'Artois et la Flandre; non loin de Béthune. Ses chemins impraticables, ses marais, et le caractère tout particulier de ses habitants, rendaient ce petit pays très différent des pays voisins.

LANDRETHUN-LES-ARDRES.—Village du canton d'Ardres, dans une plaine fertile et agréable.

LAUTEBARNE.—Lostbarne; hameau, commune de Louches. 'Lodebrona' (1084). Ancienne maladrerie.

LA VENTIE.—Laventie, bourg, chef-lieu de canton, arrondissement de Béthune. Pays de Lalleu. L'orthographe ancienne est très irrégulière. On écrit aussi Le Ventry ou Le Venthie.

LEAUËTTE.—Liauette, ferme, commune de Louches, sur un petit ruisseau. Non loin d'Ardres.

LECLUSE.—L'Ecluse. (Sluys.) En Hollande.

LETTRAN.—Lestrem, canton de Laventie, arrondissement deBéthune.

L'Hermitage.—Commune de Brêmes, près d'Ardres.

Lianne.—Hameau, commune d'Alincthun. Canton de Desvres. Boulonnais.

Licques.—Bourg du canton de Guînes, dans une vallée jadis peu accessible, au pied d'une chaîne de collines dont le sommet est couvert de bois. Gouvernement d'Ardres.

Liembrune.—Ferme et manoir seigneurial, à Tingry, canton de Samer, arrondissement de Boulogne. Lieu de réunion pour les huguenots des environs. Il s'y trouve encore un ancien cimetière que l'on appelle 'le cimetière des huguenots.'

Liestre.—Liettre. Village du canton de Norrent-Fontes, arrondissement de Béthune. En Artois.

Lille.—Chef-lieu du département de Nord. On y trouve des huguenots dès les premiers temps de la Réforme. Frossard: *l'Eglise sous la Croix.* 1857.

Loualle.—C'est 'La Walle,' ferme importante sur Guînes, au XVIIe Siècle. Elle était alors occupée par des protestants. C'est aujourd'hui un château près du quel se trouvent les sources qui fournissent de l'eau potable à Calais.

Louches-lès-Ardres.—Louches, village très boisé, dans une plaine fertile et agréable. Canton d'Ardres.

Loÿ.—Lieu dit près de Dunkerque qu'il m'a été impossible d'identifier. Est-ce le fort Louis? Est-ce le village de Loon?

Lubringhuen.—Leubringhen. Village du canton de Marquise. En Boulonnais.

Lunneray.—Luneray, canton de Bacqueville, arrondissement de Dieppe (Seine-Inférieure), au pays de Caux en Normandie.

Maguant (pays de).—Magnac, département de la Haute-Vienne. Terre et Seigneurie du Limousin.

Mal-assize.—La Mal-assise, ferme, commune de Sangatte, canton nord-ouest de Calais.

Marcq.—Marck. Commune importante du canton sud-est de Calais. Assise au bord de la mer, sur un sol uni, découvert et sablonneux. Ancienne communauté de réformés flamands. Temple situé dans le village, à peu de distance de l'église. Brûlé en 1641 par les Espagnols des Pays-Bas.

Marcy.—Mauvaise lecture; c'est Marck (Marcq).

Marquise.—Chef-lieu de canton de l'arrondissement de Boulogne. Boulonnais.

Meklebourg.—Meckelbourg. Basse-Saxe.

Merville.—Petite ville de Flandre, sur la rive gauche de la Lys.

Appartient à la France depuis 1677. Chef-lieu de canton de l'arrondissement d'Hazebrouck (Nord).

MESNIL (LE).—Fief à Alincthun, canton de Desvres, en Boulonnais, ayant appartenu aux du Tertre d'Escœuffen, puis aux de Guizelin.

MIDDELBOURG.—Middelburg. Ville des Pays-Bas. Chef-lieu de la Zélande. Patrie de Josse Van Robais qui vint établir à Abbeville, en 1665, une importante fabrique de draps.

MOLIÈRE.—Molières, canton de Cadouin, arrondissement de Bergerac (Dordogne). En Périgord.

MONHEURT.—Localité qui figure dans un acte de baptême du 22 mai, 1668, omis dans le texte imprimé des Registres de Guînes et où Pierre Petit, parrain de l'enfant, était 'Ministre du St. Evangile.' Arrondissement de Nérac.

MONTAUBAN.—Chef-lieu du département de Tarn-et-Garonne, dans le Bas-Quercy, gouvernement de Guyenne.

MONTBÉLIARD.—Chef-lieu d'arrondissement ; département du Doubs. Aux confins de l'Alsace et de la Franche-Comté. La population de Montbéliard embrassa de bonne heure la Réforme.

MONTREUIL.—Montreuil-sur-mer, chef-lieu d'arrondissement (Pas-de-Calais), sur une colline au midi et près de la Canche. Comté de Ponthieu (Basse-Picardie).

MORGES.—Ville et port sur le lac de Genève. Canton de Vaud. 'Bailliage de Morges, au pays de Vaux, canton de Bernes' (1682).

MOTIERS.—Moutiers. Village de Suisse, chef-lieu d'une prévôté appelée Moutiers-Granval, rattachée au canton de Berne.

MOUDRESTAT.—Mutterstadt, bourg de Bavière, sur la rive gauche du Rhin, dans le Palatinat. Non loin de Spire.

NARBONNE.—Chef-lieu d'arrondissement (Aude). Bas-Languedoc.

NEUCHÂTEL.—Ville de Suisse sur le lac auquel elle a donné son nom.

NEUCHÂTEL.—Neufchâtel. Village du canton de Samer. En Boulonnais.

NIELLES-LES-ARDRES.—Village du canton d'Ardres, dans une plaine très fertile et boisée, où coule la petite rivière du Houlet.

NIELLES-LES-CALAIS.—Village du canton nord-ouest de Calais, situé sur le bord d'un marais tourbeux. Le houblon était cultivé au XVIIe Siècle dans la plaine qui domine cette localité.

NIEMBOURG.—Hameau, commune d'Halinghem, canton de Samer. Boulonnais.

NIONS.—Nyon, ancienne ville de Suisse, canton de Vaud ; chef-lieu d'un bailliage du même nom au canton de Berne (pays de Vaud).

NOUVELLE-EGLISE.—Village très marécageux, canton d'Audruick. Pays-Reconquis. New Kirk (terrier anglais): New Kerke (en flamand).

OFFEQUERQUE.—V. Hofquerque.

OISEMONT.—Chef-lieu de canton, arrondissement d'Amiens. Ce bourg était déjà, au XVIe Siècle, le centre d'une église nombreuse, à laquelle se rattachaient les habitants du Vimeux. Patrie de Samuel Desmarets, un des plus féconds théologiens du XVIIe Siècle.

OUAY.—V. Oye.

OYE.—Village du canton d'Audruick, sur un sol plat et découvert, baigné par la mer. Nombreuses bergeries. Gouvernement de Calais.

PARIS.—On sait que les Réformés, nombreux à Paris, avaient leur temple à Charenton.

PERNES.—Ville de l'Artois; la plus petite de la province. Canton d'Houdain, arrondissement de St. Pol.

PEUPLINGUE.—Peuplingues, village du canton nord-ouest de Calais, traversé par une ancienne voie romaine. Calaisis.

PITREN.—Village du canton de Guînes, dans une vallée étroite et sèche, entre des côteaux peu élevés, disposés en amphithéâtre. Calaisis.

PONT-DE-GUEMP.—Hameau, commune de Guemps. Dépendait en partie de la paroisse de Marck. Calaisis.

QUERMARET.—V. Crémarest.

QUESNE.—Mauvaise lecture pour 'Guemps.'

QUESNOY.—'Quesnoy, pays de Lille, en Flandres,' c'est Quesnoy-sur-Deule, chef-lieu de canton, arrondissement de Lille.

QUESTEBRUNE.—On écrit aussi 'Questebronne.' Ferme d'ancienne construction. Fief sur Réty, canton de Marquise, en Boulonnais. Il a appartenu à la famille des Tailleurs (branche protestante). Un des Tailleurs était mayeur de Calais au commencement du XVIIe Siècle.

RELY.—Canton de Norrent-Fontes, arrondissement de Béthune.

RÉTY.—On écrit parfois 'Rhéty.' Commune dont le territoire très étendu s'étend le long du cours supérieur de la Slack. Canton de Marquise. Boulonnais.

RICHEBOURG.—Village d'Artois. Canton de Cambrin, arrondissement de Béthune. Il y a Richebourg l'Avoué et Richebourg St. Vaast qui sont limitrophes et n'ont qu'une seule église paroissiale.

RICQBOURG.—V. ci-dessus.

ROCHELIN.—'Le Russolin,' ferme sur le territoire de Hames-Boucres, non loin de la route qui conduit de Guînes à Caffiers. Dans le terrier de Miraumont (1584), il est question d'un bois appelé le 'Rucholin' sis en la paroisse de Boucres.

ROLLE.—Ville du canton de Vaud, sur le lac de Genève. Bailliage de Morges.

ROMAIN-MOUTIER.—Petite ville de Suisse, canton de Vaud, dans un vallon du Jura. Bailliage.

RONFOSSÉ.—Le Rond-Fossé, fief et manoir féodal, commune de Louches, canton d'Ardres.

ROTTERDAM.—Ville des Pays-Bas. Patrie d'Erasme.

ROUCY.—Village du département de l'Aisne, arrondissement de Laon. Jacques de Prez y fut pasteur avant de venir à Guînes qu'il quitta en 1681 pour aller occuper une chaire de théologie à Saumur.

ROUEN.—Capitale dela Normandie. Chef-lieu du département de la Seine-Inférieure. Importante église réformée.

RUMINGUEMP.—Ruminghem, village du canton d'Audruick, arrondissement de St. Omer. En Artois.

SAILLY.—Sailly-sur-la-Lys, canton de Laventie, arrondissement de Béthune. Pays de Lalleu.

ST. BARDOUX.—C'est 'St. Pardoux,' en Poitou. Département des Deux-Sèvres, arrondissement de Parthenay, canton de Mazières.

ST. BLAIZE.—St. Blaise, hameau, commune de Guînes, au nord, vers Hames-Boucres.

ST. ETIENNE.—St. Etienne-au-Mont, canton de Samer, sur la rive gauche de la Lianne. Au sommet de l'abrupte colline qui domine le hameau du Pont-de-Briques, se dresse la petite église de St. Etienne dont on aperçoit le clocher de si loin. A peu de distance, dans les dunes, s'abrite la Converserie, fief aux de Haffrengues.

ST. GAIN.—Sainghin-en-Weppes, canton de La Bassée (Nord). Dépendait autrefois de l'Artois.

ST. LO.—Chef-lieu du département de la Manche. Basse-Normandie. Généralité de Caen.

ST. MARTIN-LES-BOULOGNE.—Village du Boulonnais, aux portes de Boulogne-sur-mer.

ST. OMER.—Cette ville de l'Artois, chef-lieu d'arrondissement du département du Pas-de-Calais, fut reprise aux Espagnols au mois d'Avril 1677. Isaac Robelin, huguenot notable, ingénieur

ordinaire du Roi, fut chargé de la direction des importants travaux qui y furent exécutés à cette époque.

St. Pierre.—Aujourd' hui réuni à Calais (depuis 1885), était autrefois une paroisse distincte. On l'appelait aussi le faubourg de Calais ou la Basse-Ville.

St. Quentin.—Chef-lieu d'arrondissement du département de l'Aisne. Ancienne capitale du Vermandois. Célèbre église reformée de Picardie dont les origines remontent au XVIe Siècle.

St. Tricat.—Village du canton nord-ouest de Calais, sur le bord occidental du plat-pays. On y voyait des houblonnières au XVIIe Siècle.

St. Vallery-sur-Somme.—St. Valery-sur-Somme est un chef-lieu de canton de l'arrondissement d'Abbeville, à l'embouchure de la Somme, dans le Vimeux, en Picardie. Il y avait là des protestants dès le XVIe Siècle.

Sammet.—Samer, chef-lieu de canton de l'arrondissement de Boulogne. En Boulonnais.

Sammey.—V. ci-dessus.

Sangatte.—Village situé sur une portion maritime du plat-pays, auquel aboutissait une voie romaine. Au-dessus se trouve le Cape Blanc-Nez. Canton nord-ouest de Calais. La digue de Sangatte, qui protège le pays contre les irruptions toujours menaçantes des eaux de la mer, fut construite, à la fin du XVIe Siècle, pas des Hollandais que les persécutions des Espagnols avaient forcés de s'expatrier, et qu'attirait en France la protection accordée à leur culte par l'édit de Nantes.

Sedan.—Chef-lieu d'arrondissement (Ardennes). Province et généralité de Champagne. Sur la Meuse. Pierre Trouillart naquit à Sedan en 1618. Il fut professeur en théologie dans l'Académie de sa ville natale, et mourut à Guînes, où son fils était pasteur, en 1680.

Sembac.—C'est 'Sempach.' Petite ville de Suisse, canton de Lucerne.

Senlecq.—Senlecques. Canton de Desvres, arrondissement de Boulogne. Boulonnais.

Septfontaines.—Terre, à Louches, canton d'Ardres, qui a appartenu aux Robelin, puis aux Blanquart, dont l'un fut un savant distingué, collaborateur à la Grande Encyclopédie. Gouvernement d'Ardres.

Singuin.—V. St. Gain.

SUZANNEVILLE.—Suzenneville, hameau de la commune de Fremontiers, canton de Contes, arrondissement d'Amiens.

TARDINGHUEN.—Tardinghem, village du canton de Marquise (Boulonnais), le long du rivage de la mer, entre Wissant et le Gris-Nez.

TERGOUSSE.—C'est 'Goes' ou 'Ter Goes,' ville de Zélande, à 4 lieues de Middelbourg.

TERGOUX.—V. Tergousse.

TINGRY.—Canton de Samer, arrondissement de Boulogne. C'est sur le territoire de cette commune que se trouve le hameau de Liembrune. Il y avait là un lieu de réunion pour les protestants des environs. On voit encore la salle où se célébrait le culte : c'est aujourd'hui une grange.

TRAMCLAND.—Tramelan, canton de Berne (Suisse), district de Courteladry, à 9 kil. de Tavannes.

TULY.—Tully, canton d'Ault, arrondissement d'Abbeville. Pays de Vimeux (Basse-Picardie).

VALENCENNES.—'Dans le gouvernement de Montreuil.' C'est Valencendre, hameau du canton de Montreuil-sur-mer, partie sur la Calotterie, partie sur St. Josse.

VALENCIENNES.—'Au gouvernement de Montreuil.' V. ci-dessus.

VALTOLINE.—Valteline, vallée des Alpes, à l'entrée de l'Italie. Autrefois 'Val-Telline, seigneurie des Grisons.'

VASSEY-EN-BASSIGNY.—Vassy, chef-lieu d'arrondissement de la Haute-Marne. Eglise réformée avant 1685. Célèbre massacre des protestants.

VERLINGTHUN.—Verlincthun, village du canton de Samer, en Boulonnais.

VIEILLE-EGLIZE. — Vieille-Eglise ; en flamand, 'Oude-Kerque.' Village situé sur un sol découvert. Canton d'Audruick, arrondissement de St. Omer. Gouvernement de Calais.

VIMEUX.—Petit pays qui s'étend depuis la Somme jusqu'à la Bresle, comprenant St. Valery et le Crotoy. Basse-Picardie (Somme).

VITRY-LE-FRANÇOIS.—Chef-lieu d'arrondissement du département de la Marne. En Champagne.

WEIMAR.—Capital du duché de Saxe-Weimar.

WEPPE (LA).—Quartier de la Châtellenie de Lille.

WIDEHEN.—Widehem, canton d'Etaples, arrondissement de Montreuil-sur-mer.

WIRWINE.—Wirwignes. canton de Desvres, en Boulonnais.

WINZET.—Winzet ou Vinzel, près de Rolle, canton de Vaud (Suisse).
YVERDUN.—Canton de Vaud (Suisse). Le bailliage d'Yverdun était un des cinq du pays de Vaud qui dépendaient du canton de Berne.
ZÉTAQUE.—V. Attaques (Les).

If we owe much to Monsieur Landrin for what precedes, we owe him even more for what follows. From the various sources already enumerated we know something of the persecutions endured by the Huguenots at Calais, and how some fled, while others remained to become the subjects of forcible conversion. Of those who fled Dover has told us much; of the weaker brethren we have heard but little. Thanks to Monsieur Landrin there is now before us a contemporary official copy of the Registers of the Catholic Church of Ardres, one of the larger villages of the Calaisis, which we know from our own Register to have been strongly Huguenot. This Catholic Register extends over the crucial years 1683–6, and contains, beyond the ordinary entries of Catholic happenings, the names of those Huguenots of the parish who abjured under pressure, the strength of which we may guess at if we read between the lines.

Of these abjurations there are four in 1683 and two in 1684. In 1685 came the Revocation; the Church at Guînes was closed in June, and the edict was published in October. The persecution must have begun at Ardres in December of that year, for in that month alone are seventy abjurations, followed by thirty-four in 1686, of which twenty-six are in January. The records of these four years, for one small village, thus give a total of 110 conversions, most of which, if not all, were obviously forcible.

The work was carried out by the two clergy of the place, Montmignon and Tricot, who sign all the entries; but 'le révérend père Louis Marie, de Calais, prédicateur Capucin,' is noted once or twice as being a special missioner. In the earlier entries, when there was time, the formula runs that so and so 'aiant esté élévé et nourri dans la religion Calviniste, en suite de la permission qui m'en a esté donnée par Mon-

seigneur de Boulogne, en a fait abjuration, et profession de la Romaine, en présence des témoins soubsignés.' Later on, when whole families are swept in in gangs, the formula is shortened into 'ont promis comme les autres cy dessus.'

There was evidently a considerable garrison kept in Ardres, and the normal entries in the Catholic Registers are largely concerned with them. Of the 110 abjurations eight are of soldiers, which shows that the army itself was not untouched by 'la Religion nouvelle.' The remainder were all Ardres folk, most of them well known to us from the Guînes Register. In the list which follows I have identified so many of them as was possible, giving references to the page of the Guînes Register, in which the names are to be found. These Registers, it will be remembered, cover the period 1668–85, and any person abjuring who was either married or born during that period can at once be found and identified. Many of them, however, were unmarried folk of over seventeen, and here it becomes difficult to identify them individually; but the names, with only one exception (and that probably due to an error), are all well-known Calais Huguenot names, and are all to be found in that Register.

And now the question arises, How were these conversions effected? For it is obvious that they were the result of pressure. Generally we know only too well the means which were employed; but two of the entries among these abjurations, which we are able to amplify from other sources of information, throw a lurid light on the methods employed. Both cases occurred in connexion with persons related by marriage to the Minet family.

In December, 1685, we have the abjuration of Jean Detrier and of Elizabeth Minet, his wife, the latter being a sister of Isaac Minet, who fled, as we know, in 1686 to Dover. Married in 1681, their eldest child, Susan, was born in 1683.[1] In 1685 the family, hampered as it was by one young child, and by the immediate prospect of another, attempted to escape from Ardres, but they were robbed in the woods near Boulogne,

[1] Guînes Registers, 219, 250.

where they had taken refuge for several days and nights. On returning to Ardres they were put into prison, and here the Catholic Register must take up the tale :

'le 12e Decembre, 1685, est née à dix heures du soir, Marie Francoise Detrier, du marriage de Jean et d'Elizabeth Minet, laquelle nous a esté présentée par le père, et a esté baptisée le mesme jour et nommée par Monsieur de Tounadou, Commandant de cette ville, et Francoise de Cailly, femme de Monsieur le Gouverneur du Roy, de la Religion Prétendue Réformée.'

The presence of the governor and his wife as godparents is sufficient evidence of the forcible character of these baptisms of Huguenot infants.

With Jean Detrier and his family was his mother, Catherine Vantume, whose abjuration follows on December 23rd. One must suppose that, having conformed in this way, they were released ; for in August of the following year, thanks to the arrangements made by Isaac Minet, their relative, they all five formed part of the company of sufferers whom he brought with him to Dover in an open boat. Once there, it is easy to follow their later fortunes. Their recantations are all found in the Dover records [1] ; Jean died there in 1687 ; his widow re-married and survived until 1731 ; Susan lived until 1728. Marie Françoise, born in prison at Ardres, lived on to be the support of the uncle to whom she owed her escape when an infant of seven months, until his death in 1745, and was still living at Dover, unmarried, in 1767.

The other tale is yet more tragic. Isaac Minet's uncle, Daniel Haffrengue, had married Jeanne Latteur, before 1668. He died in 1681 [2] and his widow continued to live on at Ardres as landlady of the 'Cornet' inn. On her, too, must have fallen the persecution of 1685. How it affected her we do not know, but it is clear that she never abjured ; for in June 1686, when she was on her death-bed, an attempt was made to induce her to receive the Last Sacraments. The dramatic telling of this must be left to the original Register :

[1] *Proceedings*, vol. vi. 138. [2] Guînes Registers, 214.

Les soubsignés Michel Trupin et Joachim du Prez, M^rcs Boulengers dans la ville d'Ardres, aiant estés appellées la nuit du 10e à 11e de Juin entre une et deux chez la vefue Affringhe, maistresse hostelaine du Cornet, pour servir de tesmoins a M. Pierre Thouin, nottaire, qui passoit le testament de ladite Hafringue qui estoit malade, ou nous avons trouvé le Sr Montmignon, nostre curé, qui l'exhortoit à recevoir les Sacrements, et luy prouvoit par l'authorité de l'escriture l'obligation qu'elle avoit de les recevoir avant de mourir, aiant un livre en main intitulé 'la discipline Ecclesiastique, ou des Eglises Réformées de France'; et ladite Hafringue luy aiant demandé pour se préparer à les recevoir jusqu' au lendemain quoy que ledit Sr Curé luy ait dit que nous n' avions ny heure ny moment à nous, la quitta, en luy disant que, si Dieu luy en donnoit le temps, il ne manqueroit pas de la venir voir; de quoy ladite Haffringue mesme le pria, et se retira pour luy donner la liberté de faire son testament, qui ne fut pas plustot achevé, que, la voiant diminuer, nous luy demandasmes si elle ne souhaittoit pas que nous allassions rechercher M^r le Curé. Elle nous dit quelle le vouloit bien, et que nous luy ferions plaiser: ce que nous fismes, et M^r le Vicaire s'estant trouvé habillé, M^r le Curé ne l'estant pas, luy dit d'y aller promptement pour ne pas perdre temps, qui la trouva expiré, ce que nous avons certifie inévitable, et signé de nostre main le unzieme Juin 1686, et ont signé.

The staunch old lady thus died a heretic, and one might know no more of her, except the fact that her burial nowhere appears in the Catholic Registers. But here Isaac Minet steps in to complete the story:—'In June 1685,[1] my mother went to Ardres, where she had a sister-in-law who was sick and dyed and because she did not receive the Sacrament of the Romish Church her dead body was caryed to the prison and her estate confiscated, and three days after she was dragged by the feet by horses about the street, the mob stoning the body in such a maner that her head was broke in pieces of from her body, and was so dragged out of the town and stakt on a crossway.'

[1] 1685 is clearly an error for 1686—many reasons, besides those which appear in the text, make this clear; besides, we must remember that Isaac Minet's notes were written thirty-five years after the events they chronicle. When I wrote in 1892 the Catholic Registers were unknown to me; and, being unable to connect his story with his aunt, Jeanne Haffringue, I attributed it to a Madame Vatta, who seems to have been treated in much the same way. In this I was clearly in error. (*Family of Minet*, p. 22.)

One further point of interest is to be noted in these abjurations. The Register of Thorney Abbey proves that a considerable number of the members of that church derived from the Calaisis: the coincidence of the names occurring in the two registers is remarkable. The bearers of them were no doubt drawn there by their special aptitude for the work which was the *raison d'être* of the Thorney Abbey colony. Moreover it is clear that close connexion continued to exist between Calais and the Fen-land. For example, we find that Ambroise Minet, who died at Calais in 1679, and of whom we may almost certainly say that he was never in England, acted as godfather in 1673 to a du Puy baptised at Thorney Abbey. Among the abjurations at Ardres is that of Marie Soiez (No. 104); born at 'Tournayaby,' 22 years old. She would thus have been born in 1664; and in the Thorney Abbey Register[1] we find her—Marie fille de David Soyé et de Judich Floteau baptised on January 15th, 1664–5.

The following list contains all the names of those whose abjurations are found in the Ardres Register. Cross references serve to bring out the relationships. The Guînes Registers, in which all the names but two occur, enable most of them to be traced; and wherever it has been possible to establish the identification, the page of the Register is given in parentheses. The soldiers of the regiments stationed at Ardres do not, of course, appear in the Guînes Register, coming as they did from other parts of France.

1. Aot, Jeanne, 22 ans. 9 Jan. 1686.
2. Aot, Suzanne, 20 ans. 9 Jan. 1686.

   Daughters of—Aot deceased and Jeanne de Fresne, who also abjures (inf. no. 15). The father is described as of 'le Gouvernement de Calais,' which means the district. De Fresne is a very common name in the Registers, though I am unable to identify Jeanne. It is strange that the name Aot nowhere appears in the Registers.
3. Bagricou, Isaie, 6 Apr. 1684.

   Native of Nevers, and a soldier in the Regiment of Champagne.

[1] *Publications*, vol. xvii. p. 20.

4. Barelle, Jean, 29 Dec. 1685. 20 ans.
A common name in the Register; this Jean would have been born before they commence.

5. Bizou, Jeanne, Dec. 1685.
Married 24 Jan. 1677 (p. 132), her husband died at Ardres 3 Feb. 1679 (p. 174). She is described as 'demeurant à Nielles, native de Peuplinge.'

6. Blanchart, David, 17 Dec. 1686.
Described as 'nouveau converti' with his wife Elizabeth du Try (no. 34), on the no doubt forcible baptism of their son Jacques on this date. We have no record of their actual abjuration. They were married on 4 May 1681 (p. 214).

7. Blanquart, Nicolas, 29 Dec. 1685.
Described as 'Chirugien et Apothicaire à Ardres.' Married Marie Vatta 27 Dec. 1673 (p. 80), when he is described as 'Mre Chirugien' of Ardres. His wife also abjures (no. 107).

8. Bourquet, Francois, 9 Jan. 1686.
Natif des environs de Montpelier, fils de deffunt Francois et de Marthe Sane; 22 ans; soldat du regiment de la Reine.

9. Brez, Thomas, 15 June 1686.
Natif des environs de St Malo; soldat du regiment des vaiseaux.

10. Cadet, Jacques, 29 Dec. 1685.
16 ans, frere de Jean. His parents, Jacques Cadet and Jeanne le Fresne, were married 26 May 1669 (p. 15): he was born 8 Dec. 1669 (p. 20).

11. Cadet, Jean, 29 Dec. 1685.
15 ans, brother to the foregoing. Born 1 Nov. 1671 (p. 44).

12. Catigny, Marie, 29 Dec. 1685.
20 ans, wife of Jacob Hardy, who also abjures (no. 37). In the Guînes Register the name is Cottigny.

13. Couperit, Abraam, 10 Apr. 1686.
Fils d'Isaac, maitre chirugien, et d'Elizabeth Hegroy, natif de Montignac Cherante en Angoumois, chirugien aussi dans le Regiment de la Reine.

14. Creusian, Jacques, 9 Jan. 1684.
Soldat dans le Regiment de Champagne.

15. De Fresne, Jeanne.
53 ans, mother of 1, 2 *supra*.

16. De Labre, Jeanne, 29 Dec. 1685.
19 ans.

17. De Labre, Pierre, 29 Dec. 1685.
Said to be son of Pierre. The name is a common one in the Register; a Pierre, son of Pierre and Chretienne le Conte, is born 10 Aug. 1673, who may be this Pierre, and probably Jeanne above was his sister.

18. De la Noue, dit la Branche, 14 Jan. 1686.
Natif de Coride proche de Caen en Normandie, 35 ans, soldat dans le Regiment de la Reine.

19. De Laury, Jeanne, 27 Jan. 1686.
Native d'Etrehen proche Bethune, 50 ans. Jeanne de Lory, wife of Marc Huglot (no. 48).

20. De Ligny, Jeanne, 29 Dec. 1685.
Wife of Philippe Hardy (no. 39). 40 ans.

21. Delmare, Anne, 29 Dec. 1685.
18 ans, demeurant avec son frère.

22. Delmare, Jean, 29 Dec. 1685.
20 ans, de Balinguem, demeurant à Bresme. A common name in the Registers under the form de le Marre, though I cannot identify these two, who would have been born before the Registers commence.

23. Delual, Marthe, 29 Dec. 1685.
50 ans, wife of Jacques le Febure (no. 60). The name appears in the Registers as de le Val, de le Valle.

24. De Maux, Louis, 21 Aug. 1685.
Etant détenu dans les prisons de cette ville, soldat du Régiment de la Reine, natif de Paravant en Campagne, frontière Campagne de Lorraine, fils d'Isaie de Maux et de Susanne Cardier.

25. De Rache, Marie, 29 Dec. 1685.

26. De Rache, Paul, 29 Dec. 1685.
A Paul, son of Paul and Judith le Quien, is born 29 Dec. 1670, and is probably this one; Marie is, no doubt, his sister, as they come together. They were from Ardres.

27. De Riviere, Esther, 5 Jan. 1686.
55 ans, wife of Jean le Long (no. 64).

28. De Riviere, Jean, 6 Jan. 1686.
Natif de Louches; no doubt the Jean who appears as a witness to his sister's marriage, 4 Apr. 1673 (p. 67).

29. De Tombe, Rachel, 29 Dec. 1685.
De Bois-en-Ardres, 48 ans, wife of Robert Plateau. Her husband does not appear. Plateau is a common name in the Registers,

and both these persons appear as witnesses to a Plateau marriage in 1671 (p. 44).

30. Destrier, Jean, 29 Dec. 1685.
Marchand en cette ville, i.e. Ardres. Much is known of him, which has been incorporated in the text above.

31. Dufour, Marie, 14 Mar. 1683.
14 years. The Registers give two Maries (p. 6)—one, daughter of Abraham Dufour and Marie Planque, born 22 Sept. 1668; the other, daughter of Jacques Dufour and Marie Clinquemeur, born 6 Oct. 1668. One or other of these must have been our Marie.

32. Du Riez, Peronne, 28 Dec. 1685.
48 ans, femme de David de la Haye. Her husband does not appear; her marriage took place 4 Aug. 1680 (p. 201), and the births of several children follow in the Registers.

33. Du Try, Daniel, 29 Dec. 1685.
19 ans, natif de Guisnes, demeurant à Bois-en-Ardres. The name is common, but Daniel was born just before the commencement of the Registers.

34. Du Try, Elizabeth, 17 Dec. 1686.
See under David Blanchart, her husband (no. 6).

35. Godet, Magdeleine, 28 Dec. 1685.
30 ans, demeurant à Bois-en-Ardres. There are many Goddés in the Register, no doubt the same name, which has many variants; a Madeleine Goddez appears as godmother to a nephew, Jean Merrian, in 1668, and is no doubt this one.

36. Godet, Marie, 28 Dec. 1685.
50 ans, veuve de Pierre Plantefebue, de Nielle-les-Ardres. The births of several children, the last in 1675 (p. 98), are entered in the Registers, but the husband's death is not there.

37. Hardy, Jacob, 29 Dec. 1685.
De Nielle-les-Ardres, 42 ans. His wife was Marie Catigny (no. 12), who also abjures. They were married 17 July 1678 (p. 160).

38. Hardy, Jacques, 29 Dec. 1685.
No doubt the same family, but as nothing but the name appears it is impossible to identify either him or the next two entries; the name is very common.

39. Hardy, Philippe, 29 Dec. 1685.
Husband of Jeanne de Ligny (no. 20).

40. Hardy, Susanne, 29 Dec. 1685.

41. Henoc, Rachel, 29 Dec. 1685.
30 ans. Wife of Jacob Plateau (no. 87).

42. Hesquin, Esther, 9 Jan. 1686.
20 ans. Daughter of Isaac Hesquin and Suzanne Reux, of Ardres. The parents married before the commencement of the Registers, but the births of several of their children are found there, generally under the variant Hecquin (p. 11 *et al.*). Isaac, the father, died 27 Jan. 1677, aged 42 (p. 133).

43. Hesquin, Marie, 7 Jan. 1686.
18 ans, of Ardres; daughter of the above, but must have been born before 1668, as she does not appear in the Registers.

44. Hugglehot, Samuel, 6 Jan. 1686.
30 ans, natif d'Ardres. A Samuel marries 16 July 1679, then aged 27; he may be the same, but, if so, the ages do not agree. The name is of course a variant of those which follow.

45. Huglot, Isaac, 14 Jan. 1686.
53 ans; probably father of Susanne (no. 50). His wife was Marie Pinchon.

46. Huglot, Isaac, 28 Dec. 1685.
22 ans, natif de Bois-en-Ardres; fils d'Isaac (no. 45) et Marie Pinchon. Several of their children appear in the Registers, but this Isaac would have been born before these commence.

47. Huglot, Judith, 29 Dec. 1685.
13 ans. Probably also a daughter of Isaac and Marie Pinchon, though her birth does not appear in the Registers.

48. Huglot, Marc, 27 Jan. 1686.
45 ans, natif d'Ardres. Probably the Marc who appears in the Registers as the father of a child born in September 1669 (p. 18). His wife was Jeanne de Lory.

49. Huglot, Marie, 31 Dec. 1685.
19 ans. As there were so many families of this name, and Marie is too old to appear in the Registers, one cannot say which she belonged to.

50. Huglot, Susanne, 31 Dec. 1685.
17 ans, fille d' Isaac (no. 45) et de Marie Pinchon.

51. Labe, Pierre, 29 Dec. 1685.

52. Le Clerc, Jeanne, 29 Dec. 1685.
Wife of Jacques le Doux (no. 57), who, with his wife, is named again on the forcible baptism of their child Suzanne on the 5th March following. Jeanne le Clerc, on her abjuration, is said to be niece of Elizabeth du Try (no. 34).

53. Le Clerc, Judick, 9 Jan. 1686.
Fille de Jean et de deffunte Marie Riviere. Marie de Riviere, wife of Jean le Clercq, died, aged 34, at Ardres 11 Apr. 1672 (p. 52).

54. Le Clerc, Marie, 23 Jan. 1683.
Sister of the last, born at Ardres 7 Apr. 1669 (p. 13).

55. Le Clerc, Marie, 26 Jan. 1683.
14 ans, fille de Jean et de Marie du Riviere. Her abjuration is not given, but we learn of it from the entry of her death on 4 Sept. 1683. Her birth took place on 20 Mar. 1669 (p. 13).

56. Lecouue, Michel, 27 Jan. 1686.
Natif d'Ardres, 58 ans. He must be the Michel whose wife was Sara le Feuvre. A son, Isaac, was born to them in 1671 (p. 44) and their daughter Jeanne was married in 1680 (p. 200). His wife's abjuration is entered below (no. 62), and his daughter's (no. 69).

57. Le Doux, Jacques, 29 Dec. 1685.
Husband of Jeanne le Clerc (no. 52). He was a tailor, and married 17 Dec. 1679 (p. 188).

58. Le Febure, Elizabeth, 26 Dec. 1685.
The name is very common in the Registers, but in the absence of any details one is unable to identify this Elizabeth.

59. Le Febure, Isaac, 7 Jan. 1686.
Natif d'Ardres, fils de Jacques, 17 ans. Son of Jacques (no. 60) and Marthe de le Val (no. 23). Isaac does not appear in the Registers, but the births of younger children of this marriage appear (pp. 25, 53).

60. Le Febure, Jacques, 29 Dec. 1685.
Of Ardres, 50 ans. Father of the last entry; his wife's abjuration we have had above (no. 23).

61. Le Febure, Judith, 29 Dec. 1685.
38 ans, veuve de Pierre Hyuin. Their marriage took place 9 Feb. 1670 (p. 23). He died, aged 40, 12 Apr. 1680 (p. 196).

62. Le Febure, Sara, 29 Dec. 1685.
60 ans. Wife of Michel Lecouue (no. 56).

63. Le Long, Jacqueline, 29 Dec. 1685.
Native d'Ypres. Wife of Abraham Plateau (no. 85); in the Guînes Register she appears as Jacquemaine.

64. Le Long, Jean, 5 Jan. 1686.
Natif d'Ypres, 60 ans. A Jean appears often in the Registers,

but it is not possible to connect him with this one. His wife also abjures (no. 27).

65. Le Nouue, Jeanne, 9 Jan. 1686.
Native d'Ardres, 20 ans, fille de Jacques et de Marie de Fresne. The original is clear, but must be a mistake for Jeanne Lescouué (see Guînes Register, p. 19, *s.v.* Lescoueé).

66. Lequesne, Judith, 29 Dec. 1685.
The name appears as that of a witness to the marriage of Pierre Barra and Ester le Quien in 1670 (p. 31), and again as the wife of Paul de Rache (pp. 35, 65), but it is not possible to say whether they are the same person.

67. Le Riche, Jacques, 17 Dec. 1686.
Appears with Jeanne Parent (no. 78) as godparent to Jacques Blanchart (no. 6), when he is described as 'nouvellement converti,' but the name does not appear in the Guînes Registers.

68. Le Sage, Sara, 7 Jan. 1686.
Fille de Daniel, native d'Ardres, 20 ans. This Daniel is the one the births of whose children are chronicled in the Register (pp. 8, 39, 63); he died in 1681 (p. 220). Sara would have been born before the Register opens.

69. Lescouue, Marie, 7 Jan. 1686.
Fille de Michel, 22 ans. Her father is entered above (no. 56).

70. Liennard, Jean, 6 Dec. 1685.
Demeurant à la Cauchoise, maison de la Motte, appartenante à Monsieur Gense de Calais; 42 ans. He married Jeanne Six in 1668 (p. 3); she died in 1669 (p. 20), and he marries again in 1680 (p. 202). His age in 1680 is 38, and he then lives at la Cochoise, près d'Ardres, which makes the identification certain. The difficulty is that his second wife is Marie Raire in the Register, whereas she appears clearly in the abjurations as Marie Reu (no. 91). It looks as though the Raire of the Register were a misreading. Her age, however, proves her identity; she is 22 when she marries in 1680, and 28 when she abjures in December 1685.

71. Maillet, Anthoinette, 28 Dec. 1685.

72. Maillet, Jean, 28 Dec. 1685.

73. Maillet, Pierre, 28 Dec. 1685.
For only one of these names have we any indication; she is said to be of Nielle-les-Ardres, 20 ans. The name occurs frequently in the Registers.

74. MAISSE, PIERRE, 9 Jan. 1686.
Natif de Vielle Eglise, fils de Pierre et de deffunte Marie du Pont, 19 ans, soldat du Régiment de la Reine. Almost the only instance of a soldier being a native of the district. Maisse does not occur in the Registers, but du Pont is common.

75. MARTHE, ESTHER, 31 Dec. 1685.

76. MARTHE, JEANNE, 31 Dec. 1685.
Fille de Jean et de Marie Tout le Monde, native de Bois-en-Ardres, 20 ans. Both names common in the Registers, and evidently the families were connected, but I do not find this marriage named. Both sisters were born before the opening of the Registers.

77. MINET, ELIZABETH, 29 Dec. 1685.
Wife of Jean Destrier (no. 30).

78. PARENT, JEANNE, 17 Dec. 1685.
See Jacques le Riche (no. 67). Parent is a common name.

79. PARENT, MARIE, 29 Dec. 1685.

80. PARENT, JACQUES, 29 Dec. 1685.

81. PARENT, JEANNE, 29 Dec. 1685.
The ages of these sisters are given as 30, 28, 29, so they must all have been born before the opening of the Registers. They were all of Ardres, but their parents are not given. Marie cannot be the same as no. 78 above.

82. PLANTEFEBUE, JACQUES, 29 Dec. 1685.

83. PLANTEFEBUE, PIERRE, 29 Dec. 1685.

84. PLANTEFEBUE, PIERRE, 29 Dec. 1685.
Two Pierres evidently abjured. A Jacques marries in Jan. 1685 (p. 270), but probably not this one, or we should expect to find his wife Judith Pasoir; this Jacques is more probably the one born in 1669 (p. 11); a Pierre is born in 1671 (p. 40).

85. PLATEAU, ABRAHAM, 29 Dec. 1685.
Natif de Gien, 40 ans. Husband of Jacqueline le Long (no. 63), who abjures with him.

86. PLATEAU, ABRAAM, 7 Jan. 1686.
Natif d'Ardres, 18 ans. No doubt son of the above, but too old to appear in the Registers.

87. PLATEAU, JACOB, 28 Dec. 1685.
De Nielles-les-Ardres, 33 ans. Married Rachel Henocq, who also abjures (no. 41), in 1674 (p. 81); he was then of Bois-en-Ardres.

88. Plateau, Jeanne, 7 Jan. 1685.
The name is very common; this Jeanne would be too old for her birth to appear; she was perhaps sister of Judith, at whose marriage she assists in 1682 (p. 226).

89. Plateau, Magdeleine, 29 Dec. 1685.
Native de Gien, 30 ans, fille de Robert et de Rachel de Temble. She must have been sister of Abraham (no. 85), to one of whose children she is godmother in 1675 (p. 100).

90. Plateau, Suzanne, 7 Jan. 1686.
Sœur d'Abraam le fils, 20 ans, natif d'Ardres. Daughter of Abraham (no. 85).

91. Reu, Marie, 29 Dec. 1685.
Femme de Jean Lienard, d'Ardres (no. 70), 28 ans.

92. Reux, Jeanne, 29 Dec. 1685.
Veuve d'Isaac Hequin d'Ardres. Isaac and Susanne Reux appear as the parents of several children in the Registers, and in the absence of any Jeanne it looks as though there was a confusion of christian name, and that this Jeanne was Susanne.

93. Roullet, Jacob, 6 Jan. 1686.
Natif d'Ardres, 32 ans.

94. Senicourt, André, 29 Dec. 1686.
Natif de Risbourg en Artois, demeurant à Nielles, 35 ans. Appears as witness to his sister's marriage in 1682 (p. 230). The identity is proved by the fact that in that entry the family is said to come from Ricquebourg en Artois (Richebourg).

95. Senicourt, Antoine, 28 Dec. 1685.
63 ans; appears in the same entry and must be the father of André.

96. Senicourt, Joseph, 29 Dec. 1685.

97. Senicourt, Quentin, 29 Dec. 1685.
Brothers, 25 and 30 years of age respectively, both natives of la Couture en Flandres, and living at Bois-en-Ardres. Quentin appears as godfather to a child of the marriage referred to above (no. 94), and was no doubt a relation.

98. Si, Elizabeth,[1] 23 Dec. 1685.
Fille de Jacques et d'Elizabeth le Febure, demeurante à la Cauchoise, 18 ans. Born before the commencement of the

[1] This was the commonest Huguenot name in the district, and the family must have been a very large one. These six entries exhibit three ways of spelling the name. Jacob seems to have been the common Christian name of the family. They are also found at Thorney Abbey.

Registers ; several of her younger brothers and sisters will be found there (p. 25 *et al*).

99. Six, André, 29 Dec. 1685.
Natif de Bois-en-Ardres, 20 ans.

100. Six, Jacob, 29 Dec. 1685.
Natif de Bois-en-Ardres, 19 ans.

101. Sy, Jacob, 29 Dec. 1685.
Marchand drapier en cette ville (i.e. Ardres) natif de Guisnes, demeurant à Ardres, 63 ans.

102. Sy, Jeanne, 29 Dec. 1685.
Niece de Jacob, demeurante à Ardres, 30 ans.

103. Sy, Magdeleine, 29 Dec. 1685.
Niece de Jacob, demeurante à Ardres, 28 ans. Sister of preceding.

104. Soiez, Marie, 14 Mar. 1683.
Native de Tournayaby, 22 ans. The entry of her birth will be found on p. 20 of the Thorney Abbey Registers.

105. Vanponte, Marie, 29 Dec. 1685.
Veuve de Pierre Hardy, demeurante à Nielles, 58 ans. Pierre died in 1682 (p. 226) at Nielles, aged 42.

106. Vantume, Catherine, 29 Dec. 1685.
Veuve de Pierre Destrier, marchand en cette ville, 61 ans. Mother of Jean Detrier (no. 30).

107. Vata, Marie, 29 Dec. 1685.
Wife of Nicolas Blanquart (no. 7).

108. Vitu, Jean, 29 Dec. 1685.
21 ans.

109. Vitu, Marc, 7 Jan. 1686.
24 ans.

110. Vitu, Miché, 29 Dec. 1685.
These last three are all described as sons of Pierre and Louise Peuuerel. The birth of the last alone appears, in 1669 (p. 20). The mother is there given as Louis [*sic*] Peuureulle.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL STUDIES.

THIS Congress was held in London in April 1913. The Society was represented thereat by Mr. Charles Poyntz Stewart, F.S.A.Scot., and Mr. Maurice Wilkinson, F.R.Hist.S., the delegates appointed by the Council. The following reports of the proceedings have been received from these gentlemen:—

As a delegate of our Huguenot Society to the International Congress of Historical Studies I attended several of the Conferences, endeavouring to select more particularly those which would probably treat of subjects of interest, even indirectly, to our Members, and beg to submit a condensed report thereon.

The wealth of subjects selected and the number of lectures given were very considerable.

The former included Oriental, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Mediæval, Modern, Religious, Ecclesiastical and Legal History; besides Bibliography, Numismatics, Genealogy, and Sphragistics, which perhaps I may be permitted to explain as signifying the knowledge of historic seals—but has nothing to do with oceanic specimens.

The lectures commenced on Thursday, April 3, and ended on Tuesday, April 8, during which period no less than 107 lectures were given, and the great features of the inauguration were undoubtedly the presidential address transmitted from Washington, and the supplementary remarks of Dr. A. W. Ward, the learned Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

Unfortunately some of the lectures selected took place at distant places and at the same hours as others of equal interest

which it would have been desirable to attend. This was impossible and the cause inevitable.

The first lecture I attended was that of Professor Mitrovanoff, in German, on 'Leopold II of Austria and Kaunitz,' his celebrated Minister (1710–1794), hoping to derive information on that statesman's action towards the Church, as also on that of Pius VI and Joseph II (Leopold's successor) whose attempted theological, conventual and ecclesiastical reforms in the Netherlands (1785) caused a rupture with the Papacy.

This interesting episode is fully given in Bourgoing's 'Mémoires . . . sur Pie VI et son Pontificat' (1798).

Unfortunately the lecturer devoted himself to the political and warlike history of Austria, rather than to the religious movements, during the period in question.

The next Conference attended was that of Professor Vlastimil Kybal, of the University of Prague, in French, on 'The Religious Movement in Bohemia of Matthias Janov, previous to Huss' (1363–1403).

This movement owed its origin to three theological preachers, Waldhausen, Militch, and Janov, an Augustinian monk, archdeacon, and confessor respectively.

Janov (foremost of these three) criticised the Church with reference to the burning questions raised by the great schism of the West, proposed the abolition of monks and their incorporation with the secular clergy, endeavoured to diminish the exaggerated *cultus* of images and relics, attacked the immorality of the clergy and the difference between their doctrines and their practice. He held that to effect radical changes the Church would have to be brought back to its primitive purity by a zealous reforming priesthood exhorting the people to crush a corrupt clergy and ecclesiastical scandals, and by a 'communion' of saintly, virtuous men of self-denying, holy lives.

History shows how abortive at that time were all these early attempts at reformation.

This lecture was followed by that of Professor Cauchie, in French, on 'The Archives of the Clergy of France,' which was valuable and instructive, as giving the chief sources

for the history and acts of the French clergy, which in fact constitute the history of the largest part of the Catholic Church in Europe.

It is therefore most valuable for our Society to note these original sources.

The most important are the 'Reports of the Assemblées du Clergé' which began in October 1561 at Poissy, a month after the great 'Colloque de Poissy' where Huguenot and Catholic theologians met in a vain endeavour to settle their religious and political differences.

At the previous Conference the Crown required heavy contributions from the Church, granting in return certain rights and privileges. From this 'Contract of Poissy' date the Reports above mentioned and they continued periodically till the Revolution under the title of 'Procès Verbaux des Assemblées.'

Then there are 'Les rapports de l'Agence du Clergé de France,' 'Le Recueil des Actes, titres et mémoires du Clergé de France,' which are amongst the MSS. of the *Archives Nationales* in Paris.

There also we find 'Les lettres de l'Agence du Clergé,' 'Les Conférences, les consultations et les delibérations du Conseil du Clergé,' 'Les Mémoires et requêtes du Clergé' and other documents, all calculated to enlighten the student of Huguenot history, who I think would also do well to consult the modern 'Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique,' though not named by Professor Cauchie.

Another lecture, by Mr. P. S. Allen, was instructive, though somewhat remotely connected with Reformation history: it treated of 'Erasmus and the Bohemian Brethren or Pyghards' who endeavoured to obtain his approval of their religious views about 1519 and translated many of his works into Bohemian.

I also went to hear Professor Ortroy's 'St. Ignatius de Loyola et les premiers Informateurs de sa Vie,' but the Professor was not able to deliver his lecture, and his place was taken by one of the learned Bollandists, Father H. Delahaye, S.J., who spoke at some length on 'The Martyrdom and Grill of

St. Lawrence.'[1] He pointed out the difficulties of the hagiographic accounts of that tragedy and their differences. But this hardly compensated for the loss of the latest investigations relating to the founder of the Order of Jesuits.

Another disappointment was the absence of Professor Loesche of the Vienna University, who was to have addressed us on 'The Friends of Austrian Protestantism in the House of Hapsburg from the sixteenth century to the present day.'

We are doubtless less acquainted with Protestant history in Austria than in the rest of Europe, yet in our own day we have heard of the fights relative to the Concordat forced on Austria by Rome, the clerical intolerance as to mixed marriages, or equality of Protestants, which was only enforced about 1861 by the present Emperor.

The loss of this lecture was such a serious one for our Society, and its subject so closely affiliated to that of the Reformation throughout Europe that I obtained Dr. Loesche's own *précis* of the paper he would have read.

It opens out a field for further investigation by English students of history, as to the influence of England in the more modern movement for toleration in the Austrian Empire.

'In England the history of Protestantism in Austria may be less familiar to the public than that of any other country on the Continent, partly on account of its remoteness, partly because of the extremely complicated conditions of a country so rich in nationalities and religions.

'The ideas of Hapsburg and Protestantism are generally considered as being in direct opposition to each other. This conclusion, though correct upon the whole, may be greatly modified by penetrative research and critical consideration.

'A latent Protestantism, or at least anti-clericalism, is already to be found in the fact that, in the very century of the Reformation, the Hapsburgs were insisting on reforms, to the great vexation of the Papal See: e.g. Charles V and Ferdinand I wished to enable priests to marry and laymen to

[1] In June last when passing through Brussels I had a long and most interesting interview with Father Delahaye, who showed me over the vast "Institut des Jésuites," its class room, library and fine church, all recently erected at enormous cost.

receive the sacrament in both kinds; and long before the days of Joseph II they exercised a system similar to his, a sovereign right of the State even over the Church, which expressed itself almost grotesquely in the intention of Maximilian I to wear both imperial crown and papal tiara.

'Thus it was that the Counter-Reformation, too, emanated from the emperors, and was conducted by them.

'Besides these half-reluctant concessions to the opposite party, we may find princesses in the House of Hapsburg who professed the Protestant faith, and princes who favoured Protestantism for personal, religious, philosophical, political, or economical reasons.

'Among the first princely patronesses of Luther there was a Hapsburg, the Infanta Isabella, sister to Charles V and Ferdinand I and wife to Christian II the Bad of Denmark. Her sister, Queen Mary of Hungary and Bohemia, Stadtholder of the Netherlands, received as a mark of distinction from Luther the interpretation of four psalms of consolation, but she belongs rather to that circle of Protestants influenced by Erasmus.

'For more than three-quarters of a century historical research has endeavoured to probe the sphinx-like nature of Ferdinand I's son, Maximilian II, and thanks to new investigations and sources of information has now arrived at the all but definite conclusion that, until death, he must have been a Protestant at heart, and that it was just dynastic interests, a weak character and personal ambition, that counteracted his religious zeal. Rudolph II, that unfortunate neuropath of the Hradshin, who was forced to sign the imperial letter-patent (1609) granting a law of religious liberty of unparalleled consistency, only gradually became the prey of clerical fanatics. The premature document of religious freedom was destroyed in the flames of the Thirty Years War.

'But it was in Joseph II, whose ideal was Frederick the Great, that Austria was to find what Henry IV had been for France and William III for England. His activity in the interest of toleration again opened the way for Protestant archduchesses, such as the wife of the Archduke Charles, the

conqueror of Napoleon, and the Countess Palatine of Hungary, Maria Dorothea, who transplanted her Suabian piety to the palace of Ofen.

'The work of Joseph II was completed by the present Emperor, who, urged by the then prime minister, the recently deceased Archduke Rainer, granted equality to Protestants in the year 1861.

'England's influence is said to have played a part in this, just as it had once supported Charles XII of Sweden's work of deliverance. These points can naturally give nothing but a bare outline, and only gain substance when surrounded by facts of ecclesiastical policy, religious history and psychology.'

Professor A. O. Meyer's 'Charles I and Rome' was some compensation for the previous loss, treating comprehensively the sympathies that sovereign displayed for Roman tenets and his desire for reunion to be effected by mutual concessions: but he could not be brought to believe that Rome never granted any.

His attempts continued from 1634 till the King's difficulties began. His repeal of penal enactments against the Roman Catholics further embroiled him with his subjects, yet from Rome he got no aid as he would not openly declare himself a Catholic.

To those of our Members interested in genealogy, and they are many, Dr. Round's Lecture on 'Historic Genealogy,' which I did not miss, would have been instructive, as it treated of the services of that study to History, Topography, Feudal Customs, Fiefs and Dignities, as also of the heralds, and the modern criticism of their methods and work.

Following this I attended the lecture of Mr. Oswald Barron, F.S.A., on 'Heraldry,' which would have been of interest to those who remember our President's observations in his last address, as to the advisability of investigating the arms of our Huguenot ancestors. Of equal value was another lecture on a kindred subject which followed, on the 'Evolution of the Heraldic Seal' in England, by the Rev. E. E. Dorling, F.S.A., well illustrated by beautiful limelight pictures exemplifying types commencing from the twelfth century—

the equestrian seals bearing arms not only on the shield but on surcoat, horse trappings, and helmet—all fine specimens of sphragistic art.

I fear I have by too lengthened notes abused the privilege of being one of those entrusted with giving a report of the subjects most likely to be worth recording for our Society, yet they relate only to a fractional part of the various subjects treated of by the Congress, which has this year for the first time selected London for its third quinquennial Session.

Its previous ones were at Rome in 1903 and Berlin 1908; the impulse thus given to historic studies and the investigation of bypaths leading from the main subjects treated must have been most important.

In conclusion I would venture to say to our Members: if possible to attend such a Congress of learned men, do not on any account fail to do so.

C. Poyntz Stewart.

The Congress to which, with Mr. Poyntz Stewart, I had the honour of being the Huguenot Society's delegate, may be said to have opened with the Royal Historical Society's dinner at the Holborn Restaurant, April 1. Mr. Firth, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. was in the chair and made a speech of welcome to the foreign delegates. Professor Ed. Meyer and M. Cordier of the Institut de France replied. Mr. Haskins, Dr. Prothero, and Mr. Malden also spoke.

The inaugural meeting of the Congress took place on April 3 in the Great Hall, Lincoln's Inn, in the presence of a distinguished gathering: Dr. Ward, Master of Peterhouse, read Mr. Bryce's address, in the unavoidable absence of the Ambassador. Copies of this address were given to all members. Dr. Von Wilamowitz Muellendorf, Royal Prussian Academy. and M. Cordier spoke. After this the Congress settled down to the work of reading papers, and I attended regularly the sixth section at the Old Hall, Lincoln's Inn. Professor Vinogradoff gave the presidential address. In this section we were favoured with readers of particular eminence, Geheimrat

Otto von Gierke, University of Berlin; Professor Galante of Innsbruck; Sir F. Pollock; M. Lappo Danilewski, of Petersburg; Dr. Goudy, Regius Professor of Civil Law, Oxford; Dr. Clark, Regius Professor at Cambridge; M. Esmein, Professor of School of Law, Paris, whose paper was read by M. Huvelin of the University of Lyon; and many others. Dr. Holdsworth of St. John's College, Oxford, was Secretary of the section, and also read a most interesting paper on Coke. Many of the discussions, in which Sir F. Pollock often took a leading part, were very important. M. Caillemer, of the University of Grenoble, was recalled to Lyons by the sudden seizure of his father, who, sad to say, died before his son's arrival.

His paper was read to us by M. Astoul of the University of Caen. The detailed consideration of any papers is hardly within my sphere as reporter to our Society; but I must note the extremely suggestive and learned paper of Geheimrat von Gierke on 'The History of the Right of the Majority,' which causes us to examine our principles, and determine whence comes the divine right—for so it is now regarded—of not merely a real majority, but a numerical equality, plus two or three, to force their opinion on the others.

By singular good fortune Professor Konopczyúski, of Krakau, read us, just after, a paper on the 'Liberum Veto' in Poland, where the theory of the right of the minority, pushed to its logical conclusion, went far to hasten the fall of Polish independence.

Professor Galante on 'The Canon Law' was also very stimulating.

At Whitehall there were a series of papers on naval history, to only one of which, that presided over by H.S.H. Prince Louis of Battenberg, could I spare time from my section to attend. It was most interesting, but the audience was surprisingly small. It must be remembered that twelve to fourteen papers were being read simultaneously in different places—a fact which goes far to explain the small attendance at some sectional meetings.

There were large numbers of distinguished Frenchmen, but some were lost to us by the fact that the Easter vacations were

nearly over. The Germans, more fortunate in their holiday arrangements, were very numerous and eminent; the Russians were of great distinction and very numerous, as were indeed the representatives of the Slav people generally. When we consider the distance which these Russians had to come we must regard it as a great compliment, and a happy sign of our excellent relations.

Most, if not all, other countries were represented. but in small numbers.

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge sent their best men as delegates, and the whole of the learned societies of Great Britain were represented. As all here are doubtless aware, a vast variety of social entertainments were generously offered to members of the Congress. The daily papers reported all these if little else. It is a curious fact that the Corporation of London, usually so hospitable to all kinds of useful and useless societies, took no notice whatever of the very distinguished Congress which was using London for its meeting-place. Dr. Prothero called attention to this fact in one of his speeches.

On Tuesday, April 8, a subscription dinner was held at the Great Central Hotel, Dr. Prothero in the chair. Many speeches were made, and amongst them we may notice Professor Galante's, whose English can hardly be distinguished from that of a native born, and M. Hauser's in French, which was very sympathetic in tone. Mr. Poyntz Stewart and I were at the same table presided over by Mr. Sieveking and Mr. Stuart Hay, two of those who worked their hardest for the success of the Congress.

Much thanks are also due to the admirable efforts of Professor Gollancz, who seemed ubiquitous and untiring, also to Dr. Prothero; and doubtless there are many others besides the numerous charming ladies at the galleries who, with unruffled tempers, dealt with a vast amount of correspondence, some of it in unfamiliar tongues, and answered thousands of questions. The last general meeting, on the 9th, was to determine the place of the next Congress.

Greece, for whom much sympathy was felt owing to the absence of any delegate, except M. Gennadius, the minister,

through the terrible murder of the King, put forward the claims of Athens; a Hungarian urged those of Buda-Pest; while several seemed to consider that Paris was the most suitable of all places. However, M. Bémont, of all mediæval scholars perhaps the most famous, waived on behalf of his countrymen the claims of France. M. Lappo Danilewski then put forward the case for Russia; and after a short discussion the Congress, now somewhat reduced in numbers, voted unanimously for Petersburg. Thus a most memorable and pleasant week was finished, and the Congress of 1913 officially brought to a close.

M. Wilkinson.

Pedigree of de Viçose (or Viçouse).

For this pedigree the present Editor is mainly indebted to the kindness of Monsieur H. de France, author of *Les Montalbanais et Le Refuge,* published at Montauban in 1887.

(1) Raymond de Viçose, 'the King's Comrade,' enjoyed the Royal favour for his services at the battle of Ivry, where he rallied to the King's famous 'Panache Blanc.' Hence, as is recorded in an *Acte* of 1670 (which allows him a descent from the house of Braganza), 'dès 1589 il en merita le gouvernement de la ville de St. Maixent en Poitou, les charges d'intendant des finances du Royaume de Navarre, de Conseiller en ses Conseils, et de Secrétaire de sa Majesté du dit Collège des 54, et une pension du 6000 liv. en récompense des dits services' &c., &c. The King became Godfather to his eldest son in 1603, being represented at the Christening by M. de Castelnau-Chalvones, Seneschal et Gouverneur de Marsan. The Baronies of Casenave and Castelnau Raymond acquired by purchase. He does not appear to have married more than once, though there was an interval of twenty-four years between the births of his eldest and youngest child. If this should be thought impossible, it may be said that it is, to the annotator's knowledge, a case of 'l'impossible qui arrive.' For in that of his own great-grandparents there was in regard to the ages of their children exactly the same interval, the eldest child (his grandfather) having been born in December 1749, and the youngest in June 1774. The mother,[1] who was of a family hailing from the South of France, had married when only in her 17th year, so that in point of age the eldest son stood considerably (by seven years 'bien sonnés') nearer to her than to his youngest sister.

(2) Marguerite, Marquise de Castelmoron, had four daughters, of whom Marie married in 1674 Charles Bordeaux de Rochfort,

[1] Her father, Henry Godde (1702–1763) was brother to the Mrs. Pigot eferred to at p. 405.

Charlotte Rose (1650–1724) became known as an authoress of historical romances, and Claude (*b.* 1659) married at Charenton, April 10, 1684, Marc Auguste, Marquis de Briquemault et de Ruel (*b.* 1658).

(3) François de Viçouse commanded one of the three French regiments in Holland during the War of the Spanish Succession (Weiss, p. 375). In 1688 he followed William of Orange to England; in 1691 became Lieutenant-Colonel of Schomberg's regiment, and Colonel in 1694; was made prisoner at Almanza, 1707; became Général-Major, 1709; and Lieutenant-Général, 1727. He and his cousin Guy called themselves Viçouse.

(4) The story of the Montauban dragonnade, and how Guy de Viçose when forcibly brought before M. de Boufflers, sword in hand, kept the dragoons at bay, will be found both in 'La France Protestante' and 'Les Montalbanais et Le Refuge.'

(5) This lady resided, as a widow, with her brother and sister-in-law in Soho. Her husband has, so far, not been identified. The office copy of her Will gives his name as de Saint Faust. But this is possibly a corrupt reading, and the true name may have been de Saint Fauret.

(6) In the Faculty Office a Licence was granted on June 27, 1696, for the marriage of Joseph 'Dailigues' and Judith de Viçose. On November 12, 1701, Judith De la Cour 'femme de M. Joseph Dusseau, lieutenant dans le regiment du Colonel Colombine, de la ville de Nairac en Guienne, aagée d'environ 40 ans,' was buried at St. Patrick's, Dublin. In the light of the fact that in 1751 Guy de Viçose appoints for one of his Ex'ors his 'dear Cousin, Lieut.-Colonel Joseph Dussaux,' one is tempted to hazard the bold guess that herein we trace the marriage and the death of Baron de la Court's sister, Judith.

(7) 'Guy Viçouse' gave his nephews and nieces an interest in his will on the condition—which was not fulfilled—that they should come out of France within twelve months of his wife's decease, or should Great Britain and France be at war, within twelve months of the conclusion of peace. He was present at his brother's marriage. For this, as being between cousins, a dispensation had been sought and obtained from the Pope (Innocent XIII.).

(8) Mme. de Viçouse's nephew and Ex'or, Michael Fountain, was one of the Procurators General of the Court of Arches. His own will was proved twenty-four years later (P.C.C. 21, Dodwell). He had become a Director of the French Hospital in 1769.

The Duroure Family Record.

Communicated by HENRY WAGNER, F.S.A.

For his knowledge of this Duroure record, which was found amongst the des Vignolles Family Papers, the annotator was indebted, now some thirty years ago, to the kindness of Miss Louisa Vignoles, afterwards Mrs. Guy Carleton, who died in 1901. The pedigree, which is mainly derived therefrom, is further authenticated by extracts gathered from the Nîmes Registers, and brought up to date by information received from the granddaughter and great-grandson of Col. John Duroure, the last of his line.

There were two accounts, the second, a minor one, started apparently with the intention of simply supplementing and amplifying the first. But the writer could not resist the temptation to travel yet again over much of the well-loved ground. Since, therefore, to copy it *in extenso* would have involved much vain repetition, the present scribe had regretfully to content himself with incorporating such facts as were fresh in the one here presented. The somewhat disfiguring numerals have been added to it to mark the generations to which the successive names respectively belonged.

If not conclusive, since its origin is unaccounted for, on the vexed question of the earlier history of the Duroure family, the record possesses a certain authority, as belonging to their own Family Papers. The account in *La France Protestante* is admittedly to some extent conjectural. The writer on the Duroures, under the head of 'De Beauvoir' (Tome II., 163) prefaces his statement with these words: 'Après avoir vainement essayé de mettre d'accord entre eux les jugements de la Noblesse du Languedoc, le Dictionnaire de Moreri, le Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, les Tablettes de Chazot, et le

Nobiliaire de Saint-Allais, nous devons nous borner à rapporter ce qui, dans leurs témoignages, concorde avec les notes que nous avons recueilles de notre côté.' Comparing these two accounts, we find a question raised as to the parentage of Scipion Duroure, the figurehead of our printed pedigree. It is perhaps one of minor importance, since there is no doubt as to the man himself, or indeed as to who was his grandfather. This latter, Jaques of the second generation, appears in one record as the father of three sons—Jean, Jaques, and Pierre (*ex quo* Scipion), and two daughters, Louise and Marie, and in the other of four sons—Jean, Jaques, Balthazar (*ex quo* Scipion), and Claude, and one daughter, Marie, known to both as Mme. Domergue. The most striking fact is that in our record there is no reference whatever to the probable connection with the great Languedoc family of Grimoard de Beauvoir Du Roure, the traditional ancestor having been Claude de Grimoard de Beauvoir Du Roure, who belonged to the latter half of the sixteenth century, and was the first to champion the Protestant cause.

Généalogie de la Famille Duroure.

I. Jean Duroure sortoit d'Aubenas en Vivarais, et fut Père de

II.[1] Jaques Duroure, qui de Demoiselle Antoinette de Cappon laissa trois fils,

III. (*a*) Jean, (*b*) Jaques, (*c*) Pierre, et deux Filles, (*d*) Louise, qui épousa M. Cappon, et (*e*) Marie, qui épousa M. Domergue, de St Ambrois.

III. (*a*) Jean, docteur en Droits, épousa[2] l'Héritière d'Aubenas en Vivarais dont il eut

IV. quatre fils (*a*) Jean, (*b*) Samson, (*c*) François, (*d*) Alexandre, et deux Filles (*e*) Louise, et (*f*) Marthe.

IV. (*a*) Jean épousa l'Héritière de Coutelles, de Nismes, et mourut sans enfans en 1679.[3]

[1] The Nîmes Register records the marriage about June 1649, 'hors de la ville,' of Jaques Duroure, bourgeois, and *Magdelaine* de Cappon, both of Nismes.

[2] It was she who brought into the family the Des Bonneaux Seigneurie.

[3] The Nîmes Register tells that Jean Duroure, *docteur-avocat*, and Madeleine Coutelle, had a son Jaques, born 5 Feb. 1652, and baptized on 29 March following, when Jaques Duroure and Magdaleine Duroure, wife of Audibert De la Calmette, were sponsors.

IV. (*b*) Samson épousa Mad^lle^ Gabrielle de Restaurand du Saint Esprit dont il eut un garcon

V. (*a*) Desbonneaux, et deux Filles (*b*) Marthe et (*c*) Anne. Il mourut en 1666, et sa Femme quelque tems après.

V. (*a*) Desbonneaux mourut à l'age de seize Ans, et Anne aussi à l'age de seize Ans en 1681.

V. (*b*) Marthe épousa Charles de Prade Des Vignoles de Nismes en 1684, et en eut trois Filles,

VI. (*a*) Louise, (*b*) Françoise, (*c*) Marguerite.

(*a*) Louise, attaquée de Consomption, fut en Hollande pour sa santé, et mourut à Utrecht en 1709.

(*b*) Françoise épousa Pierre de Galley [Gualy] de Milleau en Rouvergue, et eut un enfant qui mourut avant elle, et elle le suivit de près, étant attaquée de la meme maladie que sa Sœur Louise à Londres en 1711.

(*c*) Marguerite épousa Scipion Duroure en 1713, et mourut en 1721, laissant deux fils et deux Filles (VII. *a*) François, (*b*) Charles, (*c*) Anne, (*d*) Marguerite.

Après la Mort de son Grand-oncle, Alexandre Duroure, elle passa auprès de son Père en Irlande en 1712, et l'année suivante elle épousa Scipion Duroure, et repassa la même année avec son Mari à Londres, ou elle mourut peu après être accouchée de sa Fille Marguerite, qui mourut à l'age de deux ans en 1722.

IV. (*c*) François, 3me fils de Jean, mourut garçon à Nismes en 1694.

IV. (*d*) [1] Alexandre, 4me fils de Jean, dans sa jeunesse servit dans les Mousquetaires de France, fut au Siège de Candie, obtint des Lettres de Noblesse, et se refugia en Angleterre pour cause de Religion. Ayant sorti quelque Bien, il l'augmenta considerablement par la variation qu'il y eut dans les Fonds publics durant les guerres du Roy Guillaume et de la Reine Anne, de manière qu'il laissa à sa mort autour de £18000 Sterling, dont il legua £5000 aux Pauvres Francois de Londres, ou il mourut en 1710.

[1] The will of Alexander Duroure Desbonneaux, proved on May 4, 1711, is to be found at P.C.C. 102, Young. Amongst many legacies, he left to the six Ministers of the Savoy—MM. Satur, Dubourdhuy, La Riviere, La Motte, Aufrere, and Armand Dubourdhuy—£10 each for a gown. He had originally in 1706 left £500 for poor refugees in London, but by a death-bed codicil he raised this sum to £5000. His original executors had been John de Rossieres, Abraham de Mazeres, Francis de la Fabreque and Anthony de la Roque; his final ones were Paul de la Riviere (of the Savoy), Anthony de la Roque, John Narbonne, and Alexander [?] Sassoire.

IV. (*e*) Louise, 1er Fille de Jean, épousa Jean d'Audibert,[1] Sieur de la Calmette de St Jean, dont elle eut deux garcons

V. (*a*) Louis d'Audibert, Sieur de la Pise, qui mourut sans enfans, et

V. (*b*) Jaques d'Audibert, Sieur d'Anteyrac, qui épousa Louise Duroure, fille du Baron d'Else, et en eut (VI. *a*) un garcon, et (VI. *b*) une Fille ;

Et trois Filles—

V. (*c*) C—, qui mourut sans enfans ;

V. (*d*) Magdelaine, qui épousa Domergue de (?) Feuillondrieux, et mourut sans enfans ; et

V. (*e*) Marthe,[2] qui épousa M. Gardies de St Brès de St Ambrois, et en eut quatre garcons (VI. *a*) Louis, (VI. *b*) Jaques, (VI. *c*) Jean, (VI. *d*) Alexandre, et deux Filles (VI. *e*) Anne, et (VI. *f*) Marie.

VI. (*a*) Louis sortit de la France pour la Religion et servit dans les Mousquetaires de Prusse pendant la Guerre du Roy Guillaume. Ensuite il eut une Compagnie d'Infanterie dans les Troupes Anglaises pendant la Guerre de la Reine Anne. Il mourut à Lisbonne sans enfans ;

VI. (*b*) Jaques est resté en France, ou il possède le Bien de la Famille. Il a épousé Mlle Reneaud de Nismes, ou il vit et a des enfans ;

VI. (*c*) Jean sortit de France, et mourut dans le service d'Angleterre sans enfans ;

VI. (*d*) Alexandre[3] vit avec sa sœur, Marie, à Southampton et n'est point marié ;

VI. (*e*) Anne a épousé Mr De Saint Julian, dont elle a eu un garcon, qui est mort ; et

VI. (*f*) Marie sortit peu de tems après son Frère Alexandre et a partagé avec luy l'Héritage de sa Mère. Elle épousa à Londres Isaac Gignoux,[4] Capitaine d'Infanterie, dont elle a eu deux fils

[1] Cf. Saint-Allais' *Nobiliaire*, Tome xix. 93, under Audibert de Lussan. Possibly to be identified with 'Charles d'Audibert, Seigneur de la Pise, Mousquetaire du Roi en 1665, [qui] fut père de Jacques d'Audibert, Seigneur de l'Alairac.'

[2] Madame de St Brès left France on Alexander Duroure's bidding in 1706, and joined him in London, where she died.

[3] Alexander des Gardies de St Bres d.s.p. at his sister's house in Southampton, 12 Nov. 1755. His will made the same day was proved in the P.C.C. (327, Paul) 15 Dec. 1755.

[4] The marriage was celebrated at the Savoy, January 23, 1714. Captain Isaac Gignoux (1678-1759) had two younger brothers, Charles and François.

VII. (*a*) Jean,[1]

VII. (*b*) Alexandre, qui mourut à Southampton en [1739], agé de ans, et une Fille

VII. (*c*) Marie, qui a épousé Mr Charles Des Vignoles, Lt. Col[l] en Angleterre. Vit à Southampton et a deux Filles.

IV. (*f*) Marthe, 2me Fille de Jean, épousa Mr Ponteau, de Lunel, dont elle eut un garcon (V.*a*) Philippe, et une Fille (V.*b*) A—.

V. (*a*) Philippe épousa Catherine de Rieutort, et mourut sans enfans.

V. (*b*) A— épousa Mr de Bosanquet,[2] de Sommières, et laissa une Fille

VI. (*a*) Marthe, qui épousa Mr de Baudan Cabane,[3] de Nismes, ou elle vit et a deux Garçons et trois Filles.

III. (*b*) Jaques Duroure, qui mourut sans enfans en 1657, et substitua son Bien, comme il est dit dans le Factum, par son Testament du 21 Mai, 1657.

III. (*c*) Pierre Duroure, qui épousa Sept. 15me, 1608, Madlle de Campagnane, et laissa deux garcons (IV. *a*) Louis et (IV. *b*) Scipion, et trois Filles, (IV. *c*) Jeanne, qui épousa Mr Froment de St Jean, (IV. *d*) Susanne, qui épousa Mr De la Garde du Vigau, (IV. *e*) Marguerite, qui épousa Mr Jaques de Rieutort.

He and Charles were brought to England in their childhood by their mother, Marie Gignoux, *née* Richard, whose will, dated at Southampton, where she resided, July 25, 1735, was proved in the P.C.C. (175, Brodrebb) in 1738. Charles (1683–1735) served in Savoy and Italy, but ultimately settled down at Waterford. His widow, Benigna, in her will 1774–87 (P.C.C. 122, Major) refers to Col. Charles Vignoles as 'my best friend and most generous benefactor.' François, born in the year of the Revocation, was left behind at Nîmes, an infant of little more than a year old. But he survived to inherit the family property, married a lady who was apparently a De la Calmette, and had three sons. To his English relatives he had long remained the 'cher inconnu,' but latterly—in 1750, in 1752, and again in 1760—Colonel Charles Vignoles, whose interest in 'toute la parentée des deux côtés' was of the keenest, and his Gignoux wife, appear to have visited him at his Château d'Aubord.

[1] John Gignoux was in partnership as a London merchant with his cousin Charles Duroure. He had joined the directorate of the French Hospital, to which he left £50, in 1747. He died at Southampton in 1769, having survived his brother, Alexandre, for thirty years.

[2] Bernardine de Pontaud married in 1679 Jean de Bosanquet, Seigneur de Cardet. (N. Bosanquet.)

[3] Cf. *La France Protestante*, i. 967, where it is said that Jacques Baudan, Seigneur de Cabanes 'ne nous est connu que pour s'être marié trois fois, en 1662 à Gabrielle de Bouzanquet, de Sommières, en 1669 à Judith Illaire, et en janv. 1680 à Gabrielle de Fontfroide.'

IV. (*a*) Louis, Avocat à Nismes, épousa Mad^lle^ De la Cassagne, et laissa deux Garcons et une Fille

V. (*a*) Claude, qui mourut sans enfans,

V. (*b*) Jaques, Conseillier au Presidial de Nismes, qui épousa Magdelaine Mourgues de Nismes, et a laissé deux Garcons et quatre Filles, . . . (VI. *a*) qui a épousé Mad^lle^ De Cassel, (VI. *b*) Jaques, Capitaine dans Auvergne (VI. *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*). Trois des filles sont Religieuses, et l'autre est mariée à Mr Paschal, de Nismes.

V. (*c*) Marguerite épousa Mr de Montfaucon, du Vigau des Cevennes, et a laissé une Fille, Louise de Montfaucon, mariée à M^r^ De Terriere, qui vit & n'a point d'enfans.

IV. (*b*) Scipion, second fils de Pierre, vivoit à Nismes, et étoit dans les Affaires. Il fut employé par le Duc d'Uzés pour le soin de ses Biens. Il acheta une terre dans la Camargue, et outre cela laissa du Bien considerablement. Il épousa Domergue Dangers, d'Uzés, dont il eut trois Garcons (V. *a*) Nicolas, (V. *b*) François, (V. *c*) Henry, et cinq Filles (V. *d*) Jeanne, (V. *e*) Anne, (V. *f*) Louise, (V. *g*) Susanne, et (V. *h*) Isabelle. Il épousa en secondes Noces Marie Boissières, de Nismes, dont il eut un garcon, François Augustin, et trois Filles, Marie Elizabeth, Jeanne, et Magdelaine, qui est morte.

V. (*a*) Nicolas, fils ainé de Scipion, obtint la Vignerie d'Arles, héréditaire dans sa Famille. Il épousa Meyran Demoiselle de Baye de la ville d'Arles, morte en 1746, et a laissé trois garçons (VI. *a*) Vergiere, mort Viguier in 1744, (VI. *b*) Jean Batiste, mort en 1745, (VI. *c*) Henry, Capitaine dans Auvergne, et (VI. *d*) Therèse, mariée au Baron de Beaujeu du Laurent, qui vit à Arles. Deux de ses fils sont Capitaines en Auvergne, le 3me a pris le parti de l'Eglise en 1748.

V. (*b*) François, second fils de Scipion, fit ses Etudes à Orange et à Saumur. Il voyagea en Hollande et en Angleterre avant la Revocation de l'Edit de Nantes. Les Persecutions venant, il se refugia en Hollande ; de là il se rendit à Breme, et entra dans le service de cette ville comme Lieutenant en l'an 1688, et fit venir auprès de luy ses deux Sœurs de Londres avec sa cousine Catherine de Rieutort, veuve de Monsieur Ponteau, qu'il épousa, et l'année d'après, il passa en Angleterre, ou il fut fait Lieutenant dans le Regiment de Lameloniere, Infanterie, ou il servit pendant la Guerre d'Irlande. Il se trouva à l'Assaut d'Athlone, dont le Gouverneur se rendit son Prisonnier. Après cette Guerre il achepta [*sic*] une Compagnie dans le Regiment Royal Irlandais, Infanterie, commandé

par le Colonel Frederick Hamilton, et passa en Flandres, ou il servit jusqu'à la Paix de Riswick. Il servit au Siège de Namur en 1695, ou il recut une Blessure à la Tête à l'Assaut du Chateau. A la Paix de Riswick il passa avec son Regiment en Irlande, et y mena sa Famille. En 1701 il repassa en Flandres avec son Regiment, et servit Sièges de Ruremonde, de Venlo, et de la citadelle de Liege, et se trouva à l'Assaut de ces deux dernières Places. Des grandes Incommodités, causées par la Blessure au Chateau de Namur, l'obligerent en 1704 de quitter le service, et de se retirer sur une petite Pension que la Reine Anne luy donna en Irlande. Après le mariage de son fils Scipion il le suivit en Angleterre, et vecut avec luy à Londres jusqu'à l'année 1721, lorsque leurs pertes communes dans les Fonds de la Compagnie de la Mer de Sud les obligerent de se retirer à Southampton, ou il mourut l'année suivante d'une attaque d'Apoplexie. Il avait épousé Catherine de Rieutort, veuve de M. Ponteau, de Lunel, dont il eut deux Fils (VI. *a*) Scipion, (VI. *b*) Alexandre, et (VI. *c*) une Fille, qui mourut à l'Age de six Mois en 1689.

VI. (*a*) Scipion, fils aîné de François, naquit à Breme en 1689. En 1700 il fut envoyé de Dublin auprès de son oncle, Jaques de Rieutort à Berlin. En 1704 il entra dans le service de Prusse, ou il porta les Armes dans le Regiment de Varenne, et se trouva à la Battaille de Hochstedt et au Siège de South Leewin; à l'ouverture de la Tranchée devant cette place il recut une Blessure au Col, ou la Balle est toujours restée. En 1706 il fut fait Enseigne dans le Regiment de Gromken, et fut à la Battaille de Ramellies, et aux Sièges d'Ostende et de [? Menin]. En 1708 il fut à la Battaille d'Oudenarde et au Siège de Lisle comme Aid de Camp de Monsieur De Trossell, Brigadier dans le Service de Prusse. Après le siège de la ville il se rendit à son Regiment qui fut fait prisonnier à Honscote. Il fut échangé l'année suivante, et se trouva au Siège de Tournay comme Aid de Camp de Monsieur de Gromken; à la Battaille de Malplaquet, et au Siège de Mons, comme Aid de Camp de Monsieur de Trossell, fait Major General. En 1710 il passa en Angleterre, et achepta une Compagnie dans le Regiment de My Lord North & Grey, Infanterie. Il servit aux Sièges de Douay, St Venant et Bouchain. Après la campagne de 1712 il passa en Irlande, ou il épousa Marguerite des Vignoles, et puis revint avec elle à Londres. En 1722 il acheta la Majorité du Regiment, alors commandé par le Brigadier Grove, et fut son Major de Brigade au Camp formé à Salisbury, cette année là.[1] En 1725 il fut nommé

[1] In this year, viz. 1722, as we learn from another record—which, though

Major de Brigade des Troupes en Ecosse, dans lequel Poste il a continué jusqu'en 1734.[1] En 1730 il suivit son Regiment à Gibralter, et eut peu de tems après un congé pour pouvoir continuer son service sous le Géneral Wade en Ecosse. En 1733 il fut fait Gouverneur du Chateau de St. Mawes en Cornouaille; et l'année suivante Lieut.-Colonel du Regiment commandé par le Géneral Wetham en Ecosse, duquel Poste il jouit jusqu'au mois d'Août, 1741, qu'il obtint le commandement du dit Regiment vacant par la Mort du Géneral Wetham. En 1742 il passa avec son Regiment en Flandres, et l'année suivante servit sous le Velt-Marechal Comte de Stair en qualité d'Adjutant-Géneral à la Battaille qui se donna en Allemagne le $\frac{16}{27}$ Juin 1743 contre les François près de Dettingen. Il continua à servir dans le même Poste l'année suivante en Flandres sous le Velt-Maréchal Wade, et encore au commencement de la campagne de l'année 1745 sous S.A.R. le Duc de Cumberland à l'Action qui se donna le $\frac{30 \text{ Avril}}{11 \text{ Mai}}$ contre les François à Fontenay, proche de Tournay, ou, après avoir eu un cheval tué sous luy, combattant à pied à la Tête de son Regiment, il recut une Blessure à la Cheville du pied d'un Coup de Mousquet, de laquelle Blessure il mourut le $\frac{10}{22}$ Mai à Aeth, laissant deux Fils, et une Fille

VII. (*a*) François, (*b*) Charles, et (*c*) Anne.

VI. (*b*) Alexandre, second Fils de François, naquit à Londres en 1692. En 1707 il obtint la Lettre de la Reine Anne comme Cadet de Marine sur le Falmouth, dans lequel il fit deux Voyages en Amerique, et dans le second se trouva à la Prise de Port Royal; au Retour du dernier il se trouva à l'Entrée de la Manche à un Combat contre un Vaisseau François qui dura pendant trois heures, le François en étant venu à l'abordage au premier coup de Canon, et il fut blessé legerement à la main. En 1710 il servit sur le Lenox, dans lequel il fut au Cap de bonne Esperance. Après la Paix il fit un voyage dans le Mediterranée jusques à Smyrne dans un

in some respects fuller and more intimate, stops short in 1731—'the King of Prussia did him the honour to make some enquiry about him, and he received an intimation from General Grumbkow that if he was disposed to return to that service there was a post vacant at that time which he might have, viz. Deputy Quarter-Master-General, with Lieut.-Colonel's Commission and 1500 Crowns per annum, but with all the expression of gratitude and respect he declined it, although at that time he had lost nearly £5000 in the South Sea, and might have sold his Majority and Company for £2000.'

[1] Colonel Charles Vignoles records that during the period of his serving as Brigade Major in Scotland he was honoured with the freedom of the City of Glasgow.

Vaisseau Marchand, et l'ayant quitté à Genes traversa la Savoye, fit quelque séjour à Geneve et revint par l'Allemagne en Hollande, d'ou il se rendit en Angleterre, et achepta [*sic*] en 1715 une Lieutenance dans le Regiment du Brigadier Grove. En 1719 il acheta la Cap^tne^ Lieutenance, et en 1722 la Compagnie des Grenadiers. En 1730 il fut avec le Regiment à Gibralter, et 1739 il fut fait Major du Reg^mt^ du Colonel Douglas, Marines, avec lequel en Octobre 1740 il partit pour la Jamaique pour l'Expedition sous les Ordres de My Lord Cathcart (qui mourut en Mer avant que les Troupes arriverent, et fut succedé par le Genl Wentworth dans le Commandement de cette Expedition). Il fut à l'attaque de Carthagene, et après cela fut envoyé avec un Detachement de 500 hommes à la Caroline au Secours du General Oglethorpe et puis après s'en retourna avec son Detachement à la Jamaique, d'ou il revint en Angleterre en 1743 avec le Reg^t^ du General Wentworth, duquel il avait été fait Lieut. Colonel avant d'aller à la Caroline. En 1745 il servit dans le Nord d'Angleterre en qualité de Quartier-Maitre-General sous le Maréchal Wade, qui commandait une Armée à Newcastle pour guarrantir ce pays la contre les Rebelles d'Ecosse. Il obtint aussi cette année là le Gouvernement du Chateau de St. Mawes, vacant par la mort de son Frere. En Avril, 1746, il fut par Mer en Ecosse avec le Regiment pour renforcer l'Armée de S.A.R. le Duc de Cumberland.[1]

V. (*c*) Henry, 3me fils de Scipion, entra dans les Cadets à Besançon, et ensuite dans le Regiment d'Auvergne, ou il s'est avancé à la Majorité du Regiment et a servit en Italie et en Espagne. Il fut fait Major de la Ville et Citadelle d'Arras, et en 1743 mourut êtant Major de la Ville de St. Omer en Artois. Il épousa Mad^lle^ Bourchaut, de Cambray.

V. (*d*) Jeanne, fille ainée de Scipion, épousa Mr de Bonnell, de Montpellier ; a laissé un garçon, Jean, qui épousa Mad^lle^ Coure, de Montpellier, dont il a un garçon. Elle mourut à Nismes d'une Inflammation de Poitrine en 1682.

V. (*e*) Anne, sortit de France pour cause de Religion avec sa Sœur Susanne et sa Cousine de Ponteau. Elles passerent les Pirrennées et se refugierent à Barcellone, d'ou par Mer elles se rendirent en Angleterre. Après le mariage de son Frere François elle et sa sœur demeurerent avec leur Cousin Alexandre Duroure jusqu'en 1705 qu'elles se rendirent auprès de leur Frere à Dublin,

[1] Here the record ends abruptly, falling short by nearly 19 years of the date of the Colonel's death.

ou elle eut le malheur par de violents Maux de Tête de perdre la Vue. En 1713 elle repassa avec son Frere et sa Sœur en Angleterre, et mourut à Southampton en 1724, agée de 21 Ans.

V. (*f*) Louise, 3me fille de Scipion, épousa en 1688 Mr Carles de Valerangues, des Cevennes, dont elle a eu plusieurs enfans, scavoir, 5 garçons, dont 3 sont morts au service ; (VI. *a*) François, marié à Madlle Caulet, a eu 6 Filles, une morte ; (VI. *b*) Henry ; et 4 Filles, dont deux sont mortes jeunes, (VI. *c*) Suson, mariée à Monsr Payre, et (VI. *d*) Anne mariée à Mr Rey, a 3 garçons et 3 Filles.

V. (*g*) Susanne, 4me Fille de Scipion, a toujours été avec sa sœur Anne, et vécut auprès de son neveu Scipion Duroure à Southampton, ou elle mourut le 4me Decbre 1734, agée de——

V. (*h*) Isabelle, 5me Fille de Scipion, morte en 1745, épousa Mr De Bosanquet, de Lunel, et eut deux garçons

VI. (*a*) Pierre, marié à Madlle Caulet.

VI. (*b*) Pierre, dans Anjou Infanterie, tué à l'Armée en 1740 en Italie après l'affaire d'Asti, et trois Filles

VI. (*c*) Marie,

VI. (*d*) Louise, et

VI. (*e*) Catherine, mariée à Monsr Chambon, morte à Marseille en 1746.

IV. (*c*)[1] Jeanne, fille ainée de Pierre, qui, comme il est dit ci dessus, épousa Mr de Froment de St Jean, demeurant à Uzés, et laissa un garçon, Nicolas, et deux Filles, M— et Isabelle.

V. (*a*) Nicolas épousa O—, heritière, et laissa un garçon

VI. Philippe, qui est mort sans enfans. Il épousa en secondes Noces Mlle. de Besuc de Fonquevertes, dont il eut sept garçons, qui moururent sans enfans.

V. (*b*) M—, Fille ainée de M. Froment épousa Mr De Saintipolite de Caton, et laissa 4 garçons et une Fille, &c. &c.[2]

V. (*c*) Isabelle, 2nde Fille de Mr Froment épousa Mr de Besuc de Fonquevertes et laissa deux Garçons et trois Filles :

VI. (*a*) Philippe de Besuc a épousé Madlle de Baville de Cheneng [Chenevix de Béville]. Sortit de France pendant la Paix de Riswick, et servit dans la Guerre suivante dans le Regt de

[1] The Nîmes Register records the marriage on 25 August, 1633, of Nicolas de Froment, Seigneur de St. Jean de Ceirargues, Dr. endroit d'Uzès, & *Marie* Du Roure, of Nismes.

[2] The information relating to the Montolieus that follows here has already appeared in our Proceedings. Cf. Pedigree of Montolieu, p. 161.

Varrenne en service de Prusse. Il est presentement Lieutenant-Colonel et Commandant d'Embde.[1]

VI. (*b*) A— de Besuc servit dans les Troupes de France jusqu'à Paix d'Utrecht, et ensuite il passa en Angleterre, et obtint une Pension sur l'Etablissement d'Irlande, ou il en jouit presentement.

VI. (*c*) B— fille ainée de Mr De Besuc épousa Mr de Verfeuil, et n'a point d'Enfans. Est auprès de son Frere à Embden.[2]

VI. (*d*) C—, 2nde de Ditto, est mariée en France.

VI. (*e*) D—, troisième, est Fille.

IV. (*d*) Susanne, seconde Fille de Pierre, épousa Mr De la Garde, du Vigau, et mourut sans enfans.[3]

IV. (*d*)[2] Marguerite, 3me Fille de Pierre, est morte à Lunel en 1699. Elle épousa Mr Jaques de Rieutort, de Lunel, dont elle a eu 5 garçons, et une Fille :

V. (*a*) Louis, fils ainé de Marguerite de Rieutort, épousa Madlle Durand, et mourut sans enfans en 1698.

V. (*b*) Jaques épousa Madlle De Mirande, et mourut sans enfans. Il servit dans le Regiment d'Auvergne, et à la Persécution se retira en Brandebourg ou il parvint à être Colonel des Grands-Mousquetaires du Roy de Prusse, et servit dans ce Corps là en Flandres dans la Guerre du Roy Guillaume. Il mourut à Berlin en 1711, et fit sa sœur Catherine Duroure son Heritière.

V. (*c*) St. Jean mourut à l'age de 15 Ans.

V. (*d*) Scipion mourut garçon en 1709.

V. (*e*) St. Maurice épousa Madlle De Froment, qui vit à Lunel, et a laissé un garçon, . . . De Rieutort, qui est Lieut. de Cavalerie, et a épousé Madlle de Cadolle.

V. (*f*) Catherine épousa en prers Noces Mr De Ponteau à Lunel, ou il mourut la première année de leur Mariage, dont elle n'eut point d'Enfans, et en secondes Noces Mr François Duroure, comme il a été dit. Elle suivit son Mari en Flandres et en Irlande, et après sa Mort continua son sejour à Southampton avec ses Fils, ou elle mourut d'un violent Mal de gorge le 12 May, 1781, agée de 65 Ans.

[1] Philippe de Brueys de Bezuc became Governor of Neuchatel, where he died in 1742. His widow, Marie Chenevix de Béville, whom he married in 1720, died at Berlin in 1749. (Erman.)

[2] Anne de Bezuc, widow of the Baron de Verfeuil, died in Berlin in 1763, aged 89. (Erman.)

[3] The Nimes Registers record the marriages (1) on April 29, 1642, of François de la Noguarede, Sieur de la Garde, habitant de la Sale, and Susanne Duroure, de Nismes; and (2) on Jan. 16, 1649, that 'beni hors de la ville' of Jaques de Rieutort, of Lunel, Capitaine de Chevaux-Legers dans le Regiment d'Anjou, & Marguerite Duroure, de Nismes.

NOTES TO THE PEDIGREE OF THE ENGLISH BRANCH OF DUROURE.

(1) Scipion Duroure had, as is seen in the pedigree, by his first marriage, five sons, of whom our refugee immigrant was the second, and seven daughters, of whom the two first apparently died young, two fled (over the Pyrenees, and *via* Barcelona) to England, and three preferred conformity and married life in their own familiar *pays*. Of these three, when Mlle Susanne Duroure made her will shortly before her death in 1734, the eldest, Mme de Bonell, was already dead, but the other two, Mesdames Carle and Bosanquet, are cut off, as also is Henri, by the testatrix with a shilling.

The names of the sponsors for eleven of these twelve children are recorded in the Baptismal Register of Nismes, and, since they throw a sidelight on the family connections, are here appended: (1) for Marguerite, in 1653, David Dangers, merchant, of Uzés, by proxy, and Marguerite Duroure, wife of Noble Jaques de Rieutort, *Capitaine de Chevaux Legers au Regt. d'Anjou*; (2) for Marie, in 1655, Sieur David Folchier and Marie Du Roure; (3) for Nicolas, 1659, Nicolas de Froment, Sgnr. de St. Jean de Ceirargues and Dlle Anne Ducamp; (4) for François, in 1660, François Duroure and Dlle Marie Folchier; (5) for Jeanne, in 1662, Sr. Guillaume Laurent, of Uzés, and Jeanne de Froment, wife of M. de St. Hippolyte de Caton; (7) for Louise, in 1665, Jaques de Rieutort, by proxy, and Louise Folchier by Anne Folchier; (8) for Susanne, in 1666, Jean Duroure, by proxy, and Dlle Anne Folchier; (9) for Théophile, in 1667, Théophile de Ferman, Sgnr. de St. Jean de Sairargues and Catherine Folchier; (10) for Jean, in 1669, Jean Folchier, *docteur* and *avocat*, and Marie Domergue, veuve de Baudan; (11) for Isabeau, 1672–3, Scipion Folchier, of Uzés, and, by proxy, Isabeau Descheau; and lastly (12) for Henri, in 1676, his brother Nicolas, and sister Jeanne.

(2) Probably of this family was Pierre Carle, a Lieut.-General in the Portuguese service, whose Act of Naturalisation (No. 85, William III.) tells us that he was the son of

Jaques and Susanne Carle, of Valleraugue. Coming to England with William III. he served under the King in Ireland and in Flanders. He was at the Boyne, and wounded before Namur, and in 1693 received a pension of £100. He remained in Portugal till 1720, but the last ten years of his life were spent in London, where he died in Marlborough Street, October 7, 1730, his will being proved in the P.C.C. (277, Auber) nine days later. His widow, Mary Carle, in her will which was proved (P.C.C., 67, Potter) March 27, 1747, makes no allusion to her own family. Agnew gives her maiden name as Aubertine Prunelay, but in *La France Protestante* she is identified as Marie Mauricette de Fumelé. Their only son had early lost his life by an accident in the hunting field, but they left three daughters: (1) Susanne Albertine (*b.* 1697), who married Daniel Dupont; (2) Marie Anne (*b.* 1702), who married the Hon. Henry Yelverton († 1765), second son of the first Viscount Longueville; and (3) Anne, who married Admiral the Hon. George Clinton, second son of the sixth Earl of Lincoln. He was Governor of Newfoundland, 1732–41, and of New York, 1741–51, and the record of their son, General Sir Henry Clinton, as also those of two grandsons, Generals Sir Henry and Sir William Henry Clinton, are in the D. N. B.

(3) Colonel Scipio remained in all circumstances in constant and most affectionate correspondence with his family. Though unfortunately the originals cannot now be traced, copies of many of his letters, addressed mainly to his elder son, the 'Councillor,' but intended always also, when possible, for the 'Unckle's' eye, are extant. The religious side of his character appears when he asks to have sent to him one of Bishop Simon Patrick's devotional books.

'Tell Charles,' he writes from Ghent in 1742, 'to purchase for me the last edition of "The Devout Christian,[1] or a Book of Devotion for Familys and particular persons," by Patrick Bishop of Ely. Il m'en faut deux exemplaires qu'il fera tenir à Mr Minet à Dover pour les donner au Maistre du Packet, qui les remettront à l'homme de la Barque adressès pour moy près du Beffroy ou chez Mme Sterpvart à Gand. J'ay vu ce livre entre les mains de

[1] 'The Devout Christian instructed how to pray,' was published in 1672.

Mr Saurin qui s'en sert journellement et n'ai jamais m'en rencontré de pareil dans aucune Langue également éloigné de L'Enthousiasme et de la faible formalité. Je l'en crois bon juge, and I readily pin my faith upon his in this as in most other things.'

à Gand, Dec. 4, 1742.

His exemplary Saurin friend must have been Marc Antoine, who later became Gentleman of the Bedchamber to George II., and was brother to 'the great Saurin,' Jacques, the pulpit orator, as also to Louis, the Foundation Director of 'La Providence,' who served the Savoy Church in London for sixteen years (1708–24), and in 1726 became Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Their parents also were from Nîmes, and had escaped from France in 1686, as did the Demoiselles Duroure, *via* Spain.

The letters frequently contain references to contemporaries that are interesting, but of none perhaps can this be said so much as of the following one, which was written on the evening of the day of the battle of Dettingen, and which shows us the General Wolfe of history, who sixteen years later was to meet his death in the very moment of victory, an acting adjutant here, although aged only sixteen. One recalls that at Quebec, in the public garden, his name and that of his heroic antagonist are fittingly united in a joint memorial, and how that Montcalm was of a family belonging to Nîmes, which had been prominently connected with the Protestant cause. Louis de Montcalm de St. Victor, who appears as a sponsor in 1681 at the baptism at Nîmes of a sister of the three Saurin brothers above referred to, was in fact the grandfather of the Montcalm of Quebec.

Field of Battle at Dettingen,
between Aschaffenburg and Hannau.
June 16 [or 27 O.S.] 1743.

'Dear Charles,—We have this day had a pretty warm action against 25 or 30 thousand men of the French Army that began at one o'clock this morning to cross the Mayn about half a league below Dettingen. We came up with them in time to make them cross it back faster than they came by obtaining a compleat victory over them, owing next to God to the presence of His Majesty who

charged Himself on Foot, and to the gallant behaviour of His Royal Highness: he was Major Gen[l] of the day, and was shot through the back of his Legg, but in no danger. Gen[l] Clayton is killed, Duke D'Aremberg wounded, uncertain yet what it will prove. for the rest must refer you to the Lists that will be sent over: of my Regiment Captain Phillips and Lieut. Munro killed, with about 70 men killed or wounded, Captain Campbell and Lieut. Williams slightly wounded; Col[l] La Meloniere a contusion upon his Left shoulder with a Canon Ball which hinders him from writing, but He is in no manner of danger and desires you will let his friends know as much. Call likewise upon Mrs. Goddan and let Her know the Major is well. Cap[n] Saurin has a slight cut upon the Shoulder which did not disable him from the rest of the Action which lasted from twelve to three with a continued Canonade from nine. The Brigade of Foot Guards did not engage, so that all our Friends there are well. I direct this to you uncertain whether your Uncle is at quarters or in Town, but I wrote to General Wade, where your Brother may hear more, et pour le present il faut que [je] sacrifie Frère et Enfans pour La Chose publique, car dans L'employ que je fais c'est un sy continuel hurry que la Teste m'en tourne, mais cependant, ça m'a gueri des enfleures que j'avais aux jambes et aux pieds depuis ma chute d'Aschaffenburg. The morning of the Action I was lolling in Lord Stair's coach, not dreaming I could have put on Boots in several days, but when necessity drove I forced them on, and find myself this evening nothing the worse, altho' I have fairly tired three Horses, one of them indeed was shott under me, as likewise one I had lent to Ensign Wolfe, who acted as Adjutant. Tell Mr Molinier et Mess[rs] Sellon and Roessier that I am in hopes they will have no occasion to disburse any money for Mr. Chabert, since, if His Majesty gives me the disposal of the Colours, I shall very freely bestow it upon him, since He has fought for it, and behaved very gallantly. Il est vrai, mes chers Enfans, que se serait £400 de moins pour vous au fond du Sac, mais les Circonstances changent des Choses, et Dieu vous le rendra au double, car je m'assure de vostre bon Cœur et de vos principes, que nos sentimens serons toujours unis en tout ça qui regard un Acte d'honneur et de desinteressement. Plus ne puis vous en dire. Adieu doux Frère, Enfans, et Amys, Dieu vous Ayd tous en Sa Sainte Garde, et comptez moi à jamais

Tout à vous,

S. Duroure.

The 10th of May, the date on which Colonel Scipio received his mortal wound, is recorded in the monumental inscription as that also of his death. But from the evidence of the letters it is clear that he lingered on till the 22nd. The last direct communication from him was one dictated from his death-bed at Aeth on the 18th. Amongst the letters of condolence preserved was one on the death of his 'dear Collonel' from Ruvigny De Cosne, commemorated Vol. IX. pp. 538–540. He himself was then a prisoner of war, but 'treated with all imaginable civility.'

He records in his will that his daughter Ann had enjoyed a legacy of £200 from Major de Belcastel, that Francis had received £1000 on entering into partnership with MM. Penny and Des Lands, and Charles £1000 on joining in business with John Gignoux. He leaves £50 to his godson, Scipio Carnac, son to Captain C., lately of Blakeney's Regiment. His brother Alexander to be sole executor, but, if he die, his duties to be undertaken by the Baron de Saintipolite and Captain Marc Saurin. The godson, Scipio Carnac, was brother to the John Carnac under whose will (P.C.C. 614, Marriott) James Rivett, though having no Carnac blood, took the name, 'transmitting the same to his family as their future surname and addition.'

(4) This wedding was evidently a great occasion, compelling a cloud of witnesses. No less than ten appear in the marriage register. Besides those of Francis, Catherine, and Susanne Duroure, we find the autographs of five Des Vignoles, of Jaques Daubussargues and Louis de Fontalba. Of the Des Vignoles signatures the first is that of the father of the bride, Charles Des Vignoles (1645–1725); the second that of her stepmother, Gabrielle, *née* d'Espérandieu (1663–1721); the third that of her half-brother, Charles, then only a lad of twelve; the fourth that of her half-sister, Marie, who six years later married a captain of dragoons on half-pay, Josué Dufay D'Exondun, a refugee from Poitou, who died in 1730, by whom she had, with other children, Charlotte, who in 1739 became the wife of Marc (? or Marin) Antoine Vinchon Des Vœux, the progenitor of the baronets of that name; and the

last that of another half-sister, Charlotte, who married a cornet of dragoons on half-pay, Charles Nicolas. He died in Dublin in 1726, and she in 1730. Their sole surviving son, Louis Nicolas, emigrated to Philadelphia, U.S.A. But one of his sons, who had served in Portugal, Captain John Nicolas (1742–1787) lies buried in St. Mary's Churchyard at Southampton. Writing after a lapse of some forty-six years, about 1769, from Southampton, where he was living in a house once occupied by the d'Hervarts, Colonel Charles Vignoles, the third of these signatories, says: 'j'ai encore restantes de cinq, deux sœurs en Irlande, que je n'ai pas vues depuis l'année 1739, et un seul frère dont je me separai en Ecosse in 1757. Et ce n'est pas manquer d'envie de les revoir.' Louis de Fontalba, who was a half-pay captain on the Irish establishment, was own brother to Madame Des Vignoles. He, born 1651, was the tenth, and she, Gabrielle, born 1663, the thirteenth and last child of Jacques d'Espérandieu, Sgnr. d'Aiguefonde, who had died at Castres in 1680, and Madeleine de Faure. We find him later, in his will of 1731 (P.C.C., 277, Isham), cutting off his Des Vignoles nephews and nieces with a shilling, in order to leave his wife Elizabeth his sole heir. Le Sieur d'Aubussargues, otherwise Colonel Jacques Vergèze, before entering the British service, had been in that of Prussia, where he commanded a company of the Grands-Mousquetaires. He was father of Magdeleine de Vergèze (1703–1788) who had a family of three sons and four daughters of her marriage with Captain Theophilus De la Cour Des Brisay (1693–1772), the eldest of these being Madeleine (1719–1786) who had fifteen children, issue of her marriage with Simeon Boileau; and in all probability also the father of Milon d'Aubussargues, whose will, of which Colonel de Saintipolite of the Prussian service was to be testamentary guardian, made at Wesel in 1709, had been proved in the P.C.C. (164, Young) in 1711.

The Berlin and Geneva branches of this widely spread refugee family seem to have retained the original spelling of Des Vignolles. In Ireland we find it as here Des Vignoles, then with the prefix in the singular, and finally as simply Vignoles.

(5) Owing to the religious difficulty in regard to the burial in France, the body was embalmed and brought back to England. A mural tablet of rey and white marble towards the north end of the east cloister of Westminster Abbey bears the following inscription :

To preserve and unite the memory of two affectionate Brothers, valiant soldiers and sincere Christians.

Scipio Duroure, Esqre
Adjutant General of the British Forces
Colonel of the Twelfth Regiment of Foot
and Captain or Keeper of His Majesty's
Castle of St Maws in Cornwall; who after
Forty-one years' Faithfull services was
mortally wounded at the Battle of
Fontenoy, and died on the 10th day of
May in the year 1745 aged 56 years,
and lies interred on the Ramparts of Aeth
in the Low Countries.

Alexander Duroure, Esqre
Lieutenant General of the British Forces
Colonel of the Fourth or King's Own Regiment
of Foot, and Captain or Keeper of His
Majesty's Castle of St Maw's in Cornwall;
who after 57 years' faithfull services
Died at Toulouse in France on
the 2^d day of January 1765, aged
73 years; and lies interred
in this Cloyster.

This Marble is inscribed by
Francis Duroure (son of the above-named Scipio)
as a Testimony of Filial Piety and gratefull Respect.

St. Mawe's Castle was one—the smaller but more effective one—of two forts erected by Henry VIII for the protection of Falmouth harbour. Carew writes in 1602 : 'S. Mawes lieth lower and better to annoy shipping, but Pendennis standeth higher and stronger to defend itself.' One of the inscriptions that adorned its walls may be quoted for the sake of its evergreen appropriateness : 'Gaudeat Edwardo duce nunc Cornubia felix.'

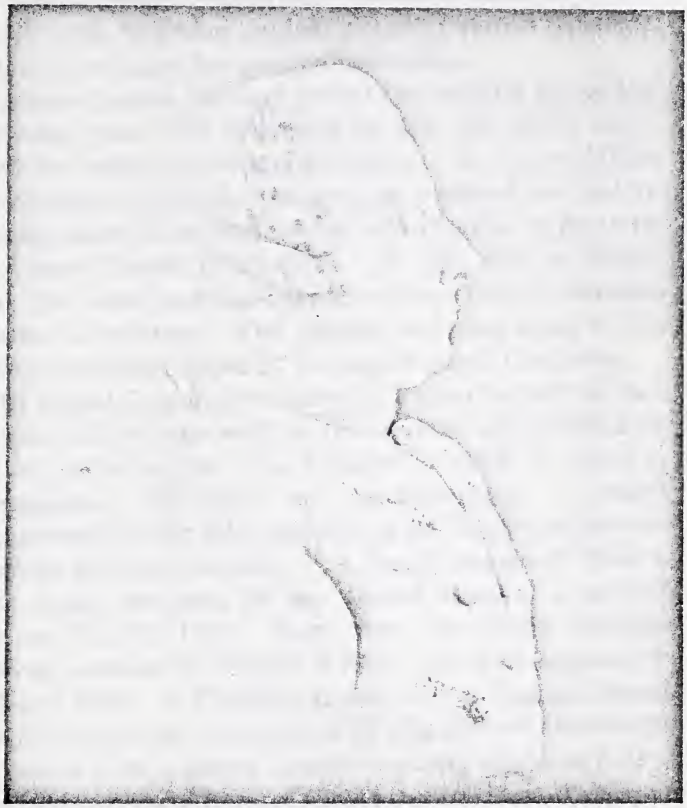
The next 'Captain or Keeper' of the Castle, appointed on May 8, 1765, was Lieut. General Robert Pigot, who succeeded as second Baronet on the death of his brother George, Lord Pigot, in 1777. He retained the office till his death in 1796, holding it for thirty-one years, and having for his Deputy-Governor his cousin, Henry Godde (1739–1809), formerly of the R.N. Alexander Duroure's successor had a Huguenot strain, his mother, Frances Pigot, *née* Godde

(1694–5—1769), being the daughter of a refugee from Bussy naturalised in 1700.

(6) Louisa Duroure was the youngest of the three children of Peter Bruchelles who, coming it is believed from Pau, changed his name to Brushell, by his marriage with Susanne (1671–1734), who was one of the seven children of Jean Pigou, of Amiens, born to him before he came to England, where he begat seven more, their mother being one of the fruitful and far-reaching family of Crommelin, of St. Quentin. Louisa was the god-daughter of Louisa Groteste Duchesnay, who in 1708 left her £100. Her sister Catharine died unmarried at Hammersmith, May 31, 1762, and Peter Brushell, the brother, who entered into business as a wax-chandler, in October 1769. His will is at P.C.C., 332, Bogg. In their marriage allegation the bride is entered as 'aged above 35,' and he as 'above 48.' As he was really 56, probably the ages of both were tenderly dealt with.

(7) More happy in this respect than his brother Charles, for of John Gignoux it is recorded that he was 'jamais heureux dans son commerce,' Francis Duroure was fortunate in his early partners, the solid, practical Solomon Penny and Peter De Lande. Solomon exemplified perhaps in a new sense the truth of the saying that 'in for a penny, in for a pound.' For he had adopted the good working name of Penny in lieu of his true one of De la Penicière, and he was in great request amongst the refugees in regard to their affairs. He had married a daughter of Denis Chirac, jeweller to Queen Anne, but died a widower and childless on October 21, 1747, and was buried, though his funeral was not to exceed the modest cost of £10, on the 27th following in St. Helen's 'in the Void Place in the Church.' In his will proved in the P.C.C. (289, Potter) on November 13, while he excludes from his inheritance his relations (unnamed) in France, he counts amongst his kinsfolk in England the Auberts, the Fouaces, the Juliotts, and Luards.

Peter De Lande, a younger man, his life-period being 1713–1790, retired relatively early into Suffolk, and was five times Mayor of Sudbury. While Solomon Penny was one of



Francis Duroure
1715-1808
After a portrait in wax by Isaac Gosset

the original directors of the French Hospital, Peter De Lande was the son of another, viz. Albert Combètes, Sieur De Lande (1661–1747), who had been Captain in Lord Lifford's regiment, and latterly lived upon his pension in London.

In his turn Francis Duroure served the hospital for no less than fifty-five years—for twenty as its able and active secretary, and for twelve as Deputy-Governor. In the medallion portrait of him, of which a photogravure is offered, we find an excellent specimen of the work of that able modeller of portraits in wax, Isaac Gosset (1713–1799). In this case, as fellow-directors, the artist and his sitter must have been in constant and familiar association. The portrait has come down to his great-great-grandson, Major E. Duroure Pickard-Cambridge.

(8) Of Daniel Crespin père nothing is known beyond the fact that he was at least some while in the army, as appears from an extract of a letter written from Flanders in which he refers to 'mon regiment.' The name was not uncommon. A Daniel Crespin is named by Sir John Silvester in his Minorca scheme as 'a merchant and great traveller.' A Daniel Crespin of Chelsea, widower, dying intestate, his son Daniel obtained a grant of Admon. on July 11, 1743. There were two Daniel Crespins successively vicars of St. Stephen's, Herts, who died respectively in 1497 and 1763. A Theodore Daniel, son of Captain Daniel Creppin [*sic*] and Anne, was baptized at Wandsworth October 26, 1712. And in 1726 a Daniel Crespin was naturalized as native of Lausanne and son of Bernard Crespin and Salome Waidman, who perhaps is to be identified with the Daniel Crespin spoken of as a 'marchand gantier.'

His wife's arms, as impaled in Francis Duroure's family seal, which is of a size proper to the period, show the charges to have been a chevron between three pine cones. The tinctures are not decipherable, but they may perhaps be read by the light offered by Rietstap, who gives the coat of the Comtes Crespin de Billy of Anjou as 'D'azur au chevr. d'or, acc. de trois pommes de pin du même, les tiges en bas.'

(9) Colonel John Duroure was 'versed in several branches of literature.' We learn thus much from his Paper of Candidature for the Royal Society which, amongst other signatures,

bore those of Isaac Gosset (the younger—a noted bibliographer) and of John James Majendie.

(10) By his first wife Thomas Francis Rolt had an only child, Edith, who died May 22, 1880, having married September 12, 1878, the Rev. William Becher and had a daughter Kathleen. But both these brothers (sons of Lieut.-General Sir Henry Rolt, K.C.B.) left considerable families, Henry George by a first, and Thomas Francis by a second wife. The Rolt family record will be found in Foster's 'Noble and Gentle Families' (p. 164), and that of Pickard-Cambridge in Burke's 'Landed Gentry.'

Miscellanea.

A FRENCH PROTESTANT PRISONER OF WAR.

THE following certificates from the State Papers of 1703, showing the attempts of his friends to obtain the liberation of a French Protestant prisoner of war and the permission of the authorities to reside in this country, are of interest :

We do Certeffie that besides the Testimony of many refugees in this town that knew the family of James Morisse of Dieppe of the Province of Normandy in France, we have been to this prison and examined him upon the ground of the Religion, we found him to be protestant earnestly willing to stay in England for Ever. He was taken in a merchant man Called the Eagle belonging to Nantes, coming from St. Domingo. He is nineteen years old. In testimony whereof we put our hands. Made in Plimouth the 29th of January 1702/3.

James De Joux, minister,
Francis Delacombe,
Aures Delacombe.

Sick and Woundd Office 26 Febry 1702.

These are humbly to Certify that we have no directions for the Discharging any French Prisoners at Warr upon the Account of their being Protestants except they are also willing to Serve on board her Mats Navy.

F. Lee,
Wm Sherard, R. Adams,
Ch. Morley.

—*State Papers, Domestic Series, Anne,* Bundle 2, No. 33 I.

We underwritten French Ministers Refugées and others, friends and relations to James Morisse of Dieppe in the Province of Normandy, doe hereby certifie that the said James Morisse is born of

Protestant Parents and bread up and educated in the Protestant Religion, but because of ye Persecution in France could not make there a publicq profession of it. But by Gods Providence having been taken in a Merchant Ship named the Eagle belonging to Nants, in his coming back from St Domingo, both himself and his Mother Brother & relations of his, either here in England, and in France, doe earnestly desire that he might stay here in England, to enjoy the liberty of his Conscience, and to learn some trade whereby he could gett his livelyhood.

All this we Certifie to be true, Witnesse our hands London this 7th day of February 1702/3.

James De Caux, G. de Sicqueville, minister,
Tho. Thomas,
Thomas Bareau, Jacob Aseem,
formerly Minister of Deeppe,
J. Dubourdieu, min.
Michel De Caux.

—*Ibid.* No. 33 II.

(*Communicated by Miss E. H. Fairbrother.*)

MIXED MARRIAGES IN ALSACE.

Dès après l'introduction de la Réforme, catholiques et protestants vivaient côte à côte en Alsace, dans un parfait esprit de tolérance. Les mariages mixtes n'étaient pas rares, même dans la haute noblesse du pays. Un document curieux, découvert dans les archives municipales de Haguenau et que publie la *Neue Zeitung*, atteste ce fait. C'est un engagement rédigé par le comte Rodolphe de Soultz, bailli de Haguenau, la veille de son mariage avec dame Agathe, veuve du comte de Hanau. Le comte, qui était bon catholique, promettait de laisser à sa femme le libre exercice de la religion luthérienne. Voici la traduction de ce document : 'Je, Rodolphe, comte de Soultz, promets sur mon honneur, sinon le diable m'emporte, que je veux laisser sa religion à ma future épouse et que je ne tenterai rien pour l'en détourner. J'ai chez moi deux bibles, si cela ne lui suffit pas je lui en achèterai encore deux autres pour y lire bravement et assidûment. D'ailleurs je prends son corps et non son âme. Je reste avec la religion dans laquelle j'ai été élevé depuis mon enfance. Je sais donc que je me trouve sur

le bon chemin. Si elle ne veut pas aller au ciel, qu'elle aille en enfer.'—*Journal des Débats*, October 1913.

(*Communicated by William Minet, F.S.A.*)

LABOUCHERE PEDIGREE (p. 177).

May I ask to correct a careless oversight in a note (that has unfortunately been quoted and reproduced as a footnote in the recently published 'Life of the Right Hon. Henry Labouchere the younger'), whereby the first wife, *née* Baring, of the Right Hon. Henry Labouchere the elder, is referred to as Lady Taunton? The lady died in 1850, nine years before the creation of the Taunton peerage.

H. Wagner.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON

Vol. X. No. 3

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1913–14

HELD AT

THE HÔTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1913.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Annual Meeting, held on May 14, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society:

Major Edward Duroure Pickard-Cambridge, The Perch, Berkhamsted.
The Rev. James Houssemayne Du Boulay, St. Albans.
Mrs. Walker Smith, 56 East 54th Street, New York, U.S.A.
Paul Sidney Couldrey, Esq., Cerro de Pasco, Peru, South America.
William Henry Ward, Esq., Colne House, Iver, Bucks, and 2 Bedford Square, W.C.

A Paper was read on 'The Real Louis XIV,' by Mr. Charles Poyntz Stewart, F.S.A.Scot.

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1913–14

HELD AT

THE HÔTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1914.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on November 12, 1913, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Abraham Anthony Auret, Esq., 12 Fortescue Road, Yeoville, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Henry Carteret de Havilland, Esq., 16 Overcliff Road, St. John's, S.E.

John Cathcart Lees, Esq., 22 St. Leonard's Road, Ealing, W.

Edward Maynard Des Champs Chamier, Esq., Puisne Judge of the High Court of Allahabad, India, 8 Montpelier Road, Ealing, W.

A Paper on 'Stephen Dolet' was read by Mr. W. Wyatt-Paine.

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION 1913-14

HELD AT

THE HÔTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1914.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on January 14 were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :

Miss Florence Tysack Parbury, 15 Alexander Square, S.W.
Miss Zoe Bowen, 12 Egerton Terrace, S.W.
Thomas Durell Barnes, Esq., Berkeley, Dunkirk, near Faversham.
W. J. Disturnal, Esq., K.C., 48 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.
The Rev. Geoffrey Remer, Wallington Rectory, Baldock, Herts.
Field-Marshal the Right Hon. Earl Roberts, K.G., K.P., O.M., V.C., &c. &c. &c., Englemere, Ascot, Berks, was elected an Honorary Fellow.

A Paper was read by Mr. R. A. McCall, K.C., on 'The Huguenots in Ulster.'

THIRTIETH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

HELD AT

THE HÔTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 13, 1914.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on March 11 were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society:

Mrs. Alice Jane Vaughan, Granville, Salterton Road, Exmouth.
Daniel Hone, Esq., 230 South Norwood Hill, S.E.
Frederick James Turquand, Esq., M.I.M.E., A.M.I.E.E., Albion House, New Oxford Street, W.C.
William Herbert Manchée, Esq., Binneguy T.P.O. North West, New South Wales, and Doondi, Neutral Bay, Sydney, New South Wales.

The Annual Report of the Council was read as follows:

Report of the Council to the Thirtieth Annual General Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London.

The Council has to report that during the past year the Society has lost thirteen Fellows by death and seven by

withdrawal, making a total loss of twenty. Nineteen Fellows have been elected, making a net loss of one.

The Treasurer's accompanying balance-sheet shows an income for the year 1913 of 590*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.* and an expenditure of 456*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* There is also a sum of 1257*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* invested in 2½ per cent. Consols, representing the fees of those Fellows who have elected to compound, and a sum of 100*l.* on special deposit (Browning Fund).

The Council desires again to express its grateful thanks to the Society's Honorary officers, Colonel D. G. Pitcher as Secretary and Mr. A. Hervé Browning as Treasurer for the able services they have continued to render to it during the past year, and also to Messrs. Rousselet and Le Bailly for the time they have willingly spent in auditing the Society's accounts.

No volume of the Publications has been issued since that containing the registers of the Bristol and some others of the provincial French churches in this country last year. But the concluding volume of the Threadneedle Street French Church registers is now in the press under the editorship of Mr. T. C. Colyer-Fergusson and will, it is expected, be issued during the present year.

The second number of the tenth volume of *Proceedings* was issued during the year and contained a number of important genealogical and historical contributions. The Society is indebted to its Fellows, Mr. Henry Wagner for the gift of the admirable photogravure portrait of Francis Duroure, and Mr. W. G. Richards for permission to photograph the portrait of Edward Riou, which help to illustrate this number.

Arrangements for future volumes of the Publications include a volume which will contain the *Reconnaissances* of the Savoy French Church with possibly the registers of one or more of the London churches still remaining to be printed, the *Denizations and Naturalizations* from 1701 to 1800, and, it is hoped, by the kind permission of the Weavers' Company, a volume of extracts from their Court Minute Books which contain much matter of interest relative to the French and other foreign weavers who settled in this country.

The third and concluding number of the tenth volume of *Proceedings* will be issued during the year.

Under the By-Laws Mr. Roumieu, who has held the office of President for three years, is now compelled to retire. The Council wishes to take this opportunity of expressing its high appreciation of the zeal and discretion with which during his term of office, as during the previous long term in which he served the Society as its Treasurer, he has always devoted himself to its best interests. The Council regrets that now for the first time in the history of the Society Mr. Roumieu ceases to be one of its most active executive officers, but is pleased to feel that, in nominating him for election as a Vice-President, it has taken a step to put him in a position in which his valuable services will still be available to the Society.

The Chairman put the following resolution which had been duly proposed by the Council in accordance with By-law XVI:

In By-law V, to strike out the whole of the last paragraph from 'Fellows' down to 'guineas,' and to insert in place thereof 'Any Fellow of the Society may compound for the annual subscription by a single payment to be made in accordance with the following scale, viz.:

If under the age of 40 . .	a single	payment of	20	guineas
If between the ages of 40 and 50	,,	,,	15	,,
If between the ages of 50 and 65	,,	,,	10	,,
If over the age of 65 . .	,,	,,	5	,,

Provided nevertheless in the last case that the Fellow so compounding shall have been a Fellow for not less than five years.'

Mr. William Henry Manchée proposed as an amendment that in place of the existing composition fee of 10 guineas there be one of 15 guineas and that By-law V be amended accordingly.

The amendment was seconded by Mr. A. W. Oke, and on being put to the Meeting by the Chairman declared lost.

The Council's resolution was then put as a substantive proposition and declared carried.

From January 1 to December 31, 1913.

1913. Dr.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bankers on December 31, 1912	169	5	2
„ Subscriptions from 302 Fellows	317	2	0
„ „ „ 4 Fellows (in advance)	4	4	0
„ „ „ 1 Fellow (in arrear)	1	1	0
„ Entrance Fees from 25 Fellows	26	5	0
„ Composition Fees from 3 Fellows	31	10	0
„ Sale of Society's Publications to Fellows	9	12	9
„ Interest on Deposit Account (Browning Fund)	3	5	4
„ One Year's Interest on the Invested Composition Fees, less income-tax	28	11	8
„ Refund by Congress of Historical Studies excess paid on Delegates' Fees		2	0
	£590	18	11

1913. Cr.	£	s.	d.
By cost of Printing and issuing Publications, *Proceedings*, Notices, &c.	295	9	6
„ Insurance of Manuscripts &c.	1	18	0
„ Assistant Secretary's Salary	50	0	0
„ Honorarium to Custodian of Papers at French Hospital	5	5	0
„ Subscription to Congress of Archæological Societies	1	0	0
„ Delegates' Fees to Congress of Historical Studies	2	2	0
„ Stationery	6	0	6
„ Postages and Petty Cash Payments	17	0	11
„ Tea and Coffee after Meetings and Waiters' Gratuities	7	13	0
„ Hire of Rooms at Hôtel Windsor	3	3	0
„ Purchase of Consols	31	10	0
„ Bank Charges		3	3
„ Indexing Registers of French Church of Bristol	5	0	0
„ Purchase of Society's Publications and *Proceedings* for re-sale to Fellows	7	10	0
„ Binding presentation Copies of *Proceedings* &c.	3	13	4
„ Engrossing Diplomas &c.	1	18	7
„ Loan of Blocks for illustrating *Proceedings*	1	1	0
„ Repayment of subscriptions for 15 years paid in error by a Fellow who had compounded	15	15	0
„ Income Tax on interest from Bank Deposit		2	4
„ Balance at Bankers Dec. 31	134	13	6
	£590	18	11

Examined with the Vouchers in the possession of the Society and found correct,

CHARLES F. ROUSSELET,
L. H. LE BAILLY.

May 6, 1914.

NOTE.—The Society stands possessed of a sum of 1257*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* 2½ per cent. Consols representing the investment of the fees of those Fellows who have elected to compound; also 100*l.* special deposit (Browning Fund).

A. HERVÉ BROWNING, *Treasurer.*

The ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result:

Officers and Council for the year May 1914 *to May* 1915.

President.—Charles Poyntz Stewart, F.S.A.Scot.

Vice-Presidents.—The Right Hon. the Earl of Radnor; Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I.; William Minet, F.S.A.; the Rev. George William Walter Minns, F.S.A.; Sir William Wyndham Portal, Bt., F.S.A.; Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu.

Treasurer.—Arthur Hervé Browning.

Honorary Secretary.—Colonel Duncan George Pitcher.

Members of Council.—Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh; Henry Martyn Cadman-Jones; The Rev. William George Cazalet; Sir William Job Collins, K.C.V.O., M.D., M.S., F.R.C.S.; Robert William Dibdin; Thomas Philip Le Fanu, C.B.; Robert Alfred McCall, K.C.; Alfred William Oke, LL.M., F.S.A.; Samuel Romilly Roget, A.M.Inst.C.E., A.M.I.E.E.; William Chapman Waller, F.S.A.; Maurice Wilkinson, F.R.Hist.S.; Wyatt Wyatt-Paine.

Mr. Roumieu, having read his Address as President, inducted Mr. Stewart into the Presidential Chair, and after a few brief remarks from the new President the proceedings terminated.

ADDRESS

TO THE

THIRTIETH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

By REGINALD St. A. ROUMIEU, President.

'I hope I shall not be supposed to depreciate any honest effort to arrive at truth, or to undervalue the devotion of those who have died for their religion. But surely it is a mistake to regard martyrdom as a merit, when from their own point of view it was in reality a privilege,' so says the late Lord Avebury in his immensely interesting book on the *Pleasures of Life* and in the chapter devoted to Religion; adding later—'Moreover, the Inquisition has even from its own point of view proved generally a failure. The blood of the Martyrs is the seed of the Church.' Even before this utterance was made, Fuller had said:

'In obedience to the order of the Council of Constance (1415) the remains of Wicliffe were exhumed and burnt to ashes, and these cast into the Swift, a neighbouring brook running hard by, and thus this brook has conveyed his ashes into Avon; Avon into Severn; Severn into the narrow seas; they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wicliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over.'

Looking forward has always a zest of uncertainty. Speculative suggestions occur to us, which if the flow of time does not actually realise, it at least with its mollifying effects softens any disappointments that may fall to us thereby; whilst looking back we, in our mind's eye and memories, walk the roadside of life past stones indelibly inscribed with our faults or fortunes.

To-night—the occasion of the thirtieth annual meeting—finds our Society with three members of the Council of our first President, Sir Henry Layard, viz. Mr. Minet, Mr. Kershaw, and myself, and each one of us can testify to two things, its unanticipated success and the unqualified excellence of its work.

I remember in our early days how apprehensive Mr. Faber and I were that the Society would not outlive its third year, a critical period I was assured by my then colleague in the lives of all Societies. It was also urged at our inception that the subject which we hold so dear and the time occupied when the Huguenots made history were all too brief; so that in a short time all that was to be written would be written, and all that had to be said would be said. Upwards of twenty-nine years have passed and from my observations I feel that up to the present but little beyond scratching at this mine of Huguenot research has been done, so that I am justified in looking down a long vista of future years wherein our Society may enrich and delight the many who may—and I earnestly hope will—succeed us.

Though the year under review may not have had its full share of events of particular concern to us the admirable papers to which we have listened have in no wit fallen in interest behind those of preceding years. These have been—'The real Louis XIV' by Mr. Poyntz Stewart: 'The Huguenots in Ulster,' an all-absorbing subject to us at the present moment, by Mr. McCall, K.C.; and 'Stephen Dolet' by Mr. Wyatt-Paine. To this last-named gentleman the Society is greatly indebted for an addition to its library of a work entitled *La Chasse de la Beste Romaine*. This treatise purports to be a refutation of the 23rd chapter of the Roman Catechism and to supply an answer to a controversial work which was printed at Fontenay-le-Comte in the year 1607. It is an extremely learned book and seeks to prove by its analogy to the earlier religions of Greece and Rome that the Roman Catholic Faith has strayed into the grievous errors of idolatry and that the Pope is Antichrist. It also charges the Roman branch of the Catholic Church with immorality. It was written by George Thomson, pastor of the Reformed Church of Chasteigneraye,

and was printed at La Rochelle in 1611. The book is of extreme scarcity, all available copies having been destroyed.

Other books, including a very rare old Huguenot testament and prayer book from Mr. Maurice Wilkinson, have during the year been presented to our library, which as you know has been housed since 1900 with the Corporation of the French Hospital, and, by arrangement with the Directors of that institution, Fellows of our Society are allowed to use the Hospital Library and to borrow books therefrom at all reasonable times upon written application to its Honorary Secretary.

Perhaps the most interesting event of the year to us, the descendants of the refugees, is the establishment of the Huguenot Museum at Mas Soubeyran. There under the Midi sky last September (1913), before a large assemblage, M. Weiss revived the memories of those present in telling over again the life of Claude Brousson and his execution at Montpellier. There has now been placed in this newly formed museum a picture by Mademoiselle Jeanne Lombard of the scene which we know so well of the Prisoners in the Tour de Constance with, on marble tablets, such of their names as are known, and those of others who were condemned to the King's Galleys. M. Puaux, at the end of the service which was held, read a form of confession called 'Prière des Camisards' discovered recently in Holland and used by our ancestors in going into battle. At the same *assemblée* Madame Teyssèdre of Nîmes sang 'La Cévenole' whilst the audience were deeply moved by the singing in the local patois of 'La Complainte des prisonnières de la Tour de Constance,' by the poet Bigot.

Those who, with myself, know this country and its people will appreciate the depth of feeling that such a meeting must have stirred in the assembled crowd. As year by year all that is attractive and deeply interesting to us, and can be collected, will find its way into this southern shrine, you will forgive my referring to its inauguration somewhat fully.

I have above alluded to the Paper read by our Fellow, Mr. McCall, who by his personality and his subject attracted to our March meeting a record assemblage of Fellows and

other friends. It may interest you to know that in a paper communicated to our Society soon after its inauguration, the Rev. A. W. Cornelius Hallen, F.S.A.Scot., says that

'There were also some foreign, probably Huguenot, linen weavers at Drumsheugh, near Edinburgh, and it is related that a Dunfermline weaver early in the eighteenth century visited their works and surreptitiously made himself master of their secret process; possessed of it, he returned to his home and may be said to have created the present celebrated linen trade of Dunfermline.' 'But,' adds our informant, 'in the records of that Burgh I cannot find any trace of Huguenots.'

Edinburgh had its Huguenot colony too. This was but natural, seeing how strong were the connections between France and Scotland about this date. I should not allude necessarily to the fact here except for personal reasons inasmuch as the name of Paul Roumieu, a watchmaker, in the Nether Bow, appears in a Scottish Bill of Naturalisation passed in 1707, just before the Act of Coercion came into effect. Hitherto I have been unable to connect this worthy with my own family tree.

Dunfermline is the birthplace of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, and it is further interesting to know that that munificent giver has materially assisted in the building of a Huguenot College at Wellington, South Africa, to which fact I alluded in a few remarks some meetings ago. That we as a Society wish well to the efforts of those who are associated with an undertaking, which perpetuates so honoured a name, and work amongst those whose descent is similar to our own, goes without saying.

The French Church in the crypt of the great Cathedral at Canterbury held its 366th anniversary in July last and is still to-day a monument to English toleration. M. le pasteur Barnabas, the minister, is, I am glad to say, a Fellow of our Society.

'I do not come here,' said Mirabeau, 'to preach toleration. In my view the utmost freedom of religion is a right so sacred that the word toleration, by which it is sought to describe it, seems to smack of tyranny. For the existence of an authority which has

the power to tolerate is a menace to freedom of thought from the very fact that, having power to tolerate, it has also power not to do so.'

Speaking under the heading of persecution by the Church of Rome, Lecky says:

'She persecuted to the full extent of the power of her clergy, and that power was very great. The persecution of which every Protestant Church was guilty was measured by the same rule, but clerical influence in Protestant countries was comparatively weak.'

'See how these Christians love one another' is the condemnatory satirical cry of the Atheist, and Lichtenberg similarly adverts to the fact of religious intolerance when he says 'Is it not strange that men should be so ready to fight for religion and so reluctant to observe its precepts?'

To come to more mundane affairs: it is the custom for our President on these annual occasions to refer to matters of interest reaching us from our sister Societies, for interchange with kindred foreign Societies has always formed a link of mutual interest and information. Among the Societies with which we exchange Transactions, the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français claims first attention.

The Annual Congress of the Members took place at Montpellier in November 1913, and afforded much scope for valuable papers and excursions in the neighbourhood. I have already alluded to the visit then paid to the 'Musée du Désert' in the Cévennes and to the paper there read on Claude Brousson, the martyred pastor. Another of the papers referred to Armand du Bordieu, of Montpellier, who fled to England in 1686 and became pastor of the French Church in the Savoy. He was also chaplain to three successive Dukes of Schomberg.

Connected with the Montpellier district may be named a periodical lately published entitled *La Salindruingue*, edited by Monsieur M. de Cazenove. This publication takes its name from a region in the department of the Gard, described in the above periodical as 'un pays déchiré par tous les schismes,' and known in history for the religious wars of the Camisards. To this volume is appended a list of the armorial bearings of the towns in this area of the Gard.

From Geneva, we get the Bulletin of the Society, one number of which has an important essay entitled 'Geneva in the Fifteenth Century.'

The Vaudois Society has many claims for those who have visited the romantic Waldensian districts, and the Bulletin of proceedings for 1913 has an article on the return of the Vaudois after an exile of over three years in Switzerland. The headquarters of the Society is at Torre Pellice, and a college exists also at Florence.

Belgium continues to send its *Bulletin d'histoire du Protestantisme Belge*, while its neighbour, Holland, remains in touch with our Society by the transmission of the publications of La Commission pour l'Histoire des Eglises Wallonnes.

We cannot here omit to mention the sympathy shown by Queen Wilhelmina (who claims descent from French ancestors) with refugee history.

America adds its share of interest to our library shelves by the issue of the volumes of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina. In one number appears a list of South Carolina names found in the Parish Church Registers of Bristol, Plymouth and Stonehouse. Such a publication reveals the intimate connection between the Old and the New World, whither so many of our ancestors fled at the exodus from France about the year 1685. Another example of intercommunication is seen in a recent work by J. Westphal Thomson entitled *The Wars of Religion in France* (1559–1765), issued by the Chicago University Press.

A bond of union can also be traced in the action of William III, who sent at his expense a number of refugees, who had followed him from Holland, to the Virginian settlements.

The annual service in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral had for its preacher in 1913 an American clergyman of Huguenot descent, a circumstance which would strengthen an interest between the two nations.

The University of Oxford in her Board of Historical Studies has included an essay on the foreign reformed Churches in England. Cambridge may follow the lead, while any help our own Society can give to these researches should emphasise

the value of the University archives in regard to their stores of refugee history at home and abroad.

And now to come to matters more immediately pertinent to our own Society. You have heard the Council's Report and will have gained from it assurance, if you were in need of such, of our stability. Though much has now been done in the direction of our register series of publications, still more yet remains to be done, so that in this respect at any rate the Society will have no necessity to look for any justification for its existence for many years to come. Our roll-call contains a steadily increasing number of names of Fellows of literary ability whose presence amongst us is a welcome guarantee to our executive officers that no immediate dearth is to be feared of those interesting papers which have been so justly appreciated at our ordinary meetings.

Losses the Society has had during the past year and must have as each year slips by, inevitably by death, less avoidably by resignation. Following the very right practice of your Presidents on these occasions, I propose now to say a few words about those who have been called from us by the first-named cause in the course of the session that we are closing this evening.

Mr. Thomas Lancelot Archer, who died on May 22 last, was a surgeon, a profession that has always been well represented and with distinction in the Society. He joined us in 1903, and was connected with the Huguenot families of Levesque, Boite, and Schenk.

Major Ernest Sutton Saurin was a member of a family of which only last year I had to deplore the loss of another member. He died on June 10, 1913, having been a Fellow of the Society for twenty years.

Mr. Arthur William Crawley-Boevey, who died at the age of sixty-seven, on July 9, had served with distinction in the Indian Civil Service, from which he retired in 1893. A descendant of an old Dutch family he was connected with several Huguenot ones and joined the Society in 1894. He had been a member of our Council and generally showed much interest in our work.

In July died also Miss Woodrooffe, who was connected with the family of Priaulx, and had been elected to the Society as long ago as 1886.

Mr. John William Whiter, who died on August 1, joined us as recently as March 1910. He was connected with the Cavalier family.

Mrs. William Sparrow Ward died also in August last, having become a Fellow in 1908. In addition to being connected with the families of Rebotier, Menet, Lasserre, Morin, and Lombard, she belonged also to that of Rieu of which our *Proceedings* have recently contained an interesting account. In her case we are at least fortunate in being able to exemplify the aphorism

uno avulso non deficit alter,

for her son Mr. W. H. Ward has now joined our ranks and thereby continued the representation amongst us of so many famous old French families.

Mr. I. M. D'Olier, who died in September, had only been elected a Fellow so recently as May last. He belonged to one of our Irish Huguenot families. He was the son of a former Fellow, and in his case also we have been fortunate to secure the continued representation of the family in the person of his cousin.

Miss Anna Mary Lee was connected with the distinguished family of Portal so well known in the annals of this Society. She became a Fellow in January 1909 but died on October 26 last.

The Rev. Prebendary Arthur Henry Sanxay Barwell, F.S.A., was a Director of *La Providence* and a Vice-President of the French Protestant School of Westminster in which he took a great interest. He joined the Society in March 1902. He died in his eightieth year on November 15. He was a distinguished collector of antiquities, and his collection of Limoges enamels, believed to be the most complete private one in the kingdom, has under the terms of his will now become the property of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Mr. William Aumonier, whose striking personality was

well known at our meetings, was an art-craftsman of no mean ability, devoting himself principally to the carving of heraldic and other designs in wood and stone. He died at the age of seventy-five on January 21 last, having been a Fellow of the Society since 1903.

Only last month we lost at a very advanced age Mr. Edmond Philip Le Feuvre, who joined us in 1894 and was connected with many Huguenot families.

I have to notice also the death, which occurred however in August of 1912, of an Honorary Fellow of the Society in Mr. Samuel Macaulay Jackson, a distinguished American professor and man of letters. News also has only lately reached us of the death a few years ago of Mrs. Blackwell, who was a connection of the Layard and other Huguenot families which are famous in our annals.

Except for a cursory mention of my name I have refrained from any personal reference to the Society and myself, but I cannot cease, as I do to-night, from active co-operation with it and its officials without extending to it and its Council, and further to all of you its Fellows, my warmest thanks for indulgences extending over nearly thirty years.

It is said that we do things for the last time with regret. If this is true in most phases of life, how much more so must it be in the case of one called upon, as I am to-night, to lay down the trammels of office for the quieter life of one of the rank and file! This I do with mingled feelings of delight and regret—delight that the Society secures a President who is enthusiastic in our history and one in whose veins flows the right Huguenot blood—whilst a tinge of regret must necessarily be present in that I am to take, and rightly, no very active participation in our Society's affairs as hitherto. That ceasing this active participation in your affairs will not lessen my keen interest goes without saying, whilst any reference to me in matters where a long association warrants will be a very high compliment and a pleasant experience.

Othello is made to say 'I've done the State some service.' If only I can claim the same assurance from you all, I am more than grateful.

Notes on the Real Louis the Fourteenth.

1643–1715.

By CHARLES POYNTZ STEWART, F.S.A.Scot.

The Fourteenth Louis in his proudest hour
Bowed yet his Sceptre to the Church's Crozier.
. . . Ill the high Monarch veils the trembling Man.—TALFOURD.

In 1643 the throne of France was again occupied by a minor, a child of five years old, for Louis XIV was born in 1638, became king in 1643 and continued under tutelage till the death of Cardinal Mazarin in 1661, when he entered on the longest, most varied and dazzling reign of any French Sovereign, yet one destined to accumulate disasters on his successors and on his country.

He was brought up by an ardent Catholic mother, Anne of Austria, who was guided entirely by her Spanish confessors; and the young King early fell under the control of Jesuit confessors and their Order. Of these, Father Annat held his post for sixteen years from 1654, then followed Father Ferrier, till Father de la Chaise commenced his rule of no less than thirty-four years (1675–1709), and took a prominent part in bringing about the 'Revocation,' in conjunction with Louvois and Foucault, the King's Ministers. Madame de Maintenon's *Letters* say: 'Father la Chaise gives every satisfaction and inspires the King with great acts: soon *all* his subjects will worship God in Spirit and in Truth.' The last Royal Confessor, Father Letellier (from 1709 to the King's death in 1715), was also a Jesuit; and in his very first year of office took place the destruction of Port Royal and persecution of the Jansenists, who, though strict Catholics, received well-nigh as cruel treatment as the Calvinists. Letellier is

MEDALS OF LOUIS XIV TO COMMEMORATE THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

described by his contemporaries as of harsh and cruel disposition. No wonder the King imbibed uncompromising, bigoted views, and continuously gave way to the unceasing demands of the Gallican clergy for ever-increasing severity. Few rulers have been judged more diversely than the 'Roi Soleil,' and his flatterers are as numerous as his critics. From the day he declared 'L'État c'est moi' he carried out the policy of personal rule unflinchingly and raised France from a condition of internal discord to the most glorious position she ever attained till the days of Napoleon. Her navy, her trade, and her manufactures attained the highest degree of prosperity. Science, Arts, and Letters, unstintingly fostered by his munificence, threw an unsurpassed lustre over his reign (previous to which no monarch had raised the sentiment of national dignity to so high a level), and absorbed her history into the glorious one of 'The Age of Louis XIV' for some sixty years.

Yet these results were due not to the talents of the King alone, but to his wisdom in seeking out those pre-eminent in their special branches of learning; unhappily, the adulation of cringing flatterers, whom he believed implicitly, led him to think, like the Roman Emperors, that he was far above the ordinary mortal, partook of almost Divine attributes, and consequently was not to be judged as a 'mere man.'

It was his good fortune to live at a time when he was surrounded by contemporaries of such eminence as France had never before produced, but the tact and discernment of the Sovereign who recognised their merit and for sixty years by his strong will guided their talents to the accomplishment of such magnificent results for France were indeed remarkable and deserve the respect and admiration of posterity. At a very early age he gave two notable evidences of his despotic temper and likewise of his self-control at that time. Fortunate would it have been for France and Europe had he cultivated the latter virtue. When only seventeen years of age his turbulent Parliament refused to register certain edicts; without further formalities such as a 'lit de justice' he proceeded straight to the Parliament in hunting dress, a whip in his hand and a strong escort, and with haughty and

threatening phrases ordered the immediate acceptance of the edicts. This was instantly obeyed.

Soon after his gallantries began, and Mazarin (1658–9) fostered a marriage with his niece Marie Mancini, to whom Louis was very devoted. The Queen Mother, however, frustrated the designs of the ambitious Minister, who gave way, and Louis himself soon saw the perils to the State of such an undignified alliance and acquiesced in the exile of the fair lady. They were allowed one parting interview, and her touching last words prove her affection and the mastery he *then* possessed over himself: 'Sire! you are king—you weep—yet I must leave?' Would that this firmness had not soon quitted him, but he was easily influenced and early fell alternately under feminine or ecclesiastical domination.[1] The tragic effects of the latter on the Huguenots concern us more than the romantic ones of the former.

The great defects of Louis were unbounded selfishness and self-gratification added to an unquenchable thirst for admiration and absolute power. He permitted Marshal de Feuillade to erect a statue of the King before which a lamp was constantly kept burning as though before a shrine: at the King's feet were figures representing the chief nations of Europe in chains.

St.-Simon declared 'The King loves and cares for himself

[1] M. Fournier (*L'Esprit dans l'Histoire*, Dentu, 1883) denies the truth of both these anecdotes, but quotes a *Manual of Public Law* (published under the inspection of Louis XIV) on the first page of which are the words 'La nation ne fait pas de corps en France: elle réside tout entière dans la personne du roy.' (See also Lemontey, *Monarchie de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1818.) A strong claim!

The phrase has also been attributed to Queen Elizabeth (*Revue Brit.*, May 1851, p. 254).

M. Fournier disbelieves that Marie Mancini used the touching words we have quoted, but during the heartrending scene of their separation said 'You weep and you are the master!' and gives Madame de Motteville as his authority.

The boy King (says M. Fournier quoting Bayle) nearly died of grief, and his doctor's diary relates that, besides physic, he bled his Royal patient twice in the feet and six times in the arms.

There is another delicious story of Louis; when brought to the bedside of his dying father, who asked him his name, he replied 'I am Louis XIV,' to which the expiring monarch murmured 'Not yet, my son, not yet!'

As the child was but five years old we need not lay much stress on this self-assertion.

alone and is himself his only object in life.' He did not require Ministers but servile registrars of his will, any encroachment on which he never tolerated: he would brook no Prime Minister, but nominated Councils presided over by himself for the various State Departments, and his haughty, unyielding policy was the chief cause of his long series of costly wars against nearly every European kingdom and every combination of them successively throughout his reign. His principle was that force and not justice should be the only guide in politics, and he astutely managed to alienate first the allies of the nations he intended to humiliate, for none knew better than himself how to carry into practice the maxim 'Divide et impera'; with fraud and violence he annexed territory by his rapacious interpretation of the Treaty of Nimeguen (1678), and entered Strasburg when peace had been declared, occupying it by 20,000 men without resistance from the enemy unprepared for such violation of solemn engagements.

He thus terrorised Europe, adopting any means to attain his ends. Twice did his armies devastate the Palatinate (the districts of Mannheim and Heidelberg), and with ruthless and needless barbarity forty towns and hundreds of large and small villages and the produce around were reduced to ruins; the burial grounds were ploughed up and the remains of the dead scattered.

Even Papal Rome was not spared humiliation; the various embassies had there the right of asylum for all who claimed it of whatever nationality, but this led to such abuses and the harbouring of every sort of malefactor that each Power had in turn given up this privilege. France alone declined this, and when the Nuncio pressed the concession Louis insultingly replied that he never regulated his actions by the example of others, for God had, on the contrary, raised him up as an example to them. Such was his universal arrogance to every nation.

At home he carried out the stern policy inaugurated by Richelieu (not by himself) of crushing the nobility and their privileges in order to create a united France. Dividing their interests, giving them high offices in his Navy and Army, exciting their patriotism, accustoming them to the brilliant

life of his Court, conferring on them its paltry privileges[1] and the various 'Ordres du Roi' of which the most coveted were the orders of 'The Holy Ghost' and of 'St. Louis'—by such means they were lured into giving up realities for shadows and were gradually deprived of all real power. This was, however, not of his own originating, but a subtle and politic improvement on the blunt and often brutal measures of Richelieu.[2]

Continuous wars ended by exhausting the resources of the nation; the public debt was enormous; loans, lotteries, and heavy new taxes were resorted to in vain, so that in 1709 the misery throughout France was appalling, absolute starvation pervaded whole provinces, rebellions broke out and extended, arrested only by thousands of peasants entering the army as the only means of escaping starvation, and by compulsorily drafting others into the services as yet more 'food for cannon.'

We read that in this disastrous winter of 1709, followed by famine, destitution reigned supreme, and the very servants of his Majesty begged at the doors of his gorgeous palace of Versailles; Madame de Maintenon and the nobles were reduced to eat black bread; recruiting sergeants hunted men; every possible form of taxation was invented and the infuriated peasantry pursued into the woods by the extortioners. Loans had to be raised at 400 per cent. and the National Debt amounted to what would now be equal to five milliards of francs, or about 200 millions sterling at the death of Louis XIV. (See Michelet and *Curiosités Historiques*, Paris, 1855, Paulin et Chevalier: *Nouveaux Caractères de la Famille Roïale, des Ministres d'État et des principales personnes de la Cour de France,*

[1] Amongst the highest of them was that of assisting the rising or 'lever' (hence 'Levée') and going to bed of the Sovereign; one putting on his shoes and stockings, others holding his underclothing for others yet more highly honoured to put on his Royal person; while 'to hold a candle to the . . .' King was one of his most signal marks of favour. The very slightest details of these ceremonies were strictly laid down. Curious accounts of these functions will be found in *État de la France*, vol. i. p. 353, ed. 1749.

[2] Amongst many other references see also *Testament politique du Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, Premier Ministre de France sous le règne de Louis XIII.* 5me éd.: Amsterdam, 1696.

avec une supputation des Revenus de cette Couronne, 12mo. Villefranche, Paul Pinceau, 1703.[1])

Public appointments were sold to the highest bidders, many absolutely useless functions were created to raise money —for example, sworn hereditary announcers of funerals, sworn oyster dealers, inspecting controllers of tallow, and controllers of wigs, &c.; the King and nobles sent their beautiful furniture, heavily mounted with gold and silver, to the Mint. Madame de Sévigné, St.-Simon, and others mention and deplore the loss of these glorious works of art (Chéruel, *Dictionnaire Historique*).

The influence of France declined, for the King had created an abyss destined to engulf the prosperity of the kingdom, of the crown, of his dynasty, and of every existing institution, brought on largely by his absorption of all rule and every branch of State authority in his own person—a burden to which his successors were totally unequal.

The golden epoch of Louis has always been looked on as one of the highest refinement, in which polished manners were a vital matter at Court and in noble circles; but it is undeniable that this refinement was external, superficial, and did not extend to delicacy of sentiment, expression, or conduct. The style of the writers of the day, and also the public and private habits and homes of even the highest society, will prove this.[2]

[1] Printed in Holland. Brunet mentions two other editions, an 8vo. 1703 and a 12mo. 1704. The characters are impartially drawn, and the details of revenue are valuable.

[2] Their palatial homes were comfortless and insanitary. Even about 1670 fireplaces were hard to find in the châteaux of the nobility, though discoverable in Paris, and the King had many placed in the royal palaces, which, however, did not appear to heat them. To keep warm, people received their visitors while in bed; their bedroom was the *salon de réception* in the days of the Marquise de Rambouillet and the 'Précieuses' so ridiculed by Molière and La Bruyère. Those visitors who dreaded the draughts of fireless bedrooms had permission to enter the ruelle or small space between the bed and the wall. Ladies of the nobility, buried in priceless furs, received in bed the visits of the greatest personages. 'The King's apartment,' wrote Madame de Maintenon, 'is so cold that if I live there long I shall become paralytic; not a door or window will shut, and the wind recalls American hurricanes.' Till an advanced period of the Grand Monarque's reign he was the only one to use a fork, others did as they could, tearing the viands with a knife and their fingers; up to a much later date guests would send a footman with a,

With every stilted expression of allegiance and devotion to beauty, there was no respect for woman; conjugal fidelity was the object of every sort of contempt and sarcasm; vice undisguised, indulged in openly by the highest, most elegant arbiters of fashion, and ruinous universal gambling leading to conjugal infidelity were all looked on as matters of course—mere necessary accompaniments of courtly life, amply compensated for by the religious hypocrisy, outward forms, protestations and elegancies, which veiled them but thinly.

It was only in the provinces, especially those furthest removed from courtly contagion, that bright examples of virtue, self-denial, purity of life, practical religion, and devotion to the starving victims of the warlike mania of the Sovereign could be successfully sought. But these rare examples were powerless to stem the torrent of corruption due to the personal example of the Sovereign and his Court, which was to bring such fearful retribution on the nation.

Nor need we recapitulate the terrible loss to the nation caused by the flight of half a million of the King's most thrifty, wealthy, and loyal inhabitants, and the fearful experiences undergone alike by the fugitives and by those unable to escape. The prestige of France for toleration and justice suffered more by this emigration than by many a defeat.

An account of the various edicts against the Huguenots during this reign does not come within the scope of this paper. They have been alluded to in previous ones. A full chronological summary of each will be found in Léon Pilatte's indispensable *Édits, Déclarations et Arrests concernans la Religion prétendue Réformée,* 1662–1751. (Paris, Fischbacher, 1885).

Henry IV, by his wise policy of conciliation and moderation, raised his country to the lofty position of being the first to aim at toleration and religious equality for his subjects as far as the 'Ligue' and the Church would allow him, and she stood forth the envy of other nations. At the very zenith of his power Louis XIV hurled her from that pre-eminence by the

dainty case containing their fork and knife, or carry it in a pocket. Further curious and unedifying details of home life at that time are detailed by Dr. Cabanés in his *Mœurs intimes du Passé* published recently.

fateful 'Revocation' which was 'worse than a crime, it was a mistake.' The heathen Chinese rulers ennobled the ancestors of those they desired to honour, the number of generations varying according to the merits of the person: it was reserved for the 'Most Christian King' to debase his power by such acts as exhumation of the dead in order to brand their very memories by 'legal defamation' and confiscate their property so as to beggar their widows and offspring. It is difficult to imagine a greater fall for such a nation and such a ruler!

And what was the erudition of the minor clergy at this time? The best judge—the great Fénelon—expressed his opinion that:

'in this part of France there are only three sorts of Clergy—Secular, Jesuit, and Recollets [a branch of the Franciscans]—the last despised and hated by the Huguenots, of whom they have been at every opportunity the betrayers and denouncers. . . . The Jesuits are iron-headed and dense, only talking to the newly-converted of pains and penalties in this world, and the Devil and Hell in the next . . . great difficulty have we in preventing their fighting against our gentler means, which make Jesuit harshness seem more severe. As for our Rectors, they have no aptitude for speaking; which harms the Catholic cause, for the Huguenots were accustomed to ministers who consoled and exhorted them with the touching words of Scripture. What is required is a Priesthood with some eloquence who would edify the people and gain their confidence.'

De Pontchartrain, a Minister of State, in 1698 declared to the King's Council: 'One cannot help observing that the majority of ecclesiastics are acting with intemperate zeal and passion.' Indeed, clerical scandals, and the lives of the 'Petits Abbés,' showed that the clergy required conversion before attempting to convert others.

The greatest anomaly of this period, however, was the way in which the clergy condoned the flagrant immoralities of Louis XIV, and superadded the grossest flattery. In the 'Assembly of the Clergy' of 1682, the Prelates flattered Louis XIV in a manner that had never been attempted since the last days of the Roman Empire. One said that in France the King was not a mere layman but a combination of lay

and ecclesiastical; another that he surpassed David in gentleness, Solomon in wisdom, Alexander in valour, the Constantines in religion, and all the Caesars and Sovereigns of the Earth in power—and that in the army he was more than King, in foremost battle more than warrior, in the State more than Emperor, in civil discipline more than Praetor, in law more than Judge; *in the Church more than Priest.* So long as their demands for the persecution of Calvinists and Jansenists were complied with, the clergy do not seem to have expostulated with him, or to have denied him the most sacred rites of the Church.

Indeed, one of the many Court scandals arose from this extreme ecclesiastical indulgence. Many contemporaneous *Memoirs* relate that in 1676, just previous to some religious functions of a 'Jubilee,' Louis experienced deep remorse for his 'liaison' with Madame de Montespan, the reigning favourite from 1668 to 1684—remorse which was shared by the lady; and 'they two parted in silence and tears.'

This 'Jubilee' over, and its 'Indulgences' gained, the question arose whether the beauty would reappear at Court, and if she did so whether it would be to lead a Christian life. Bossuet, the 'Eagle of Meaux,' and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, approved of her re-appearance, believing in the sincerity of the Royal repentance, but irrefutable and living witnesses were forthcoming who soon showed that the scandal had been renewed. Madame de Maintenon's *Letters* give details of this affair; they say that Bossuet was a foolish dupe, who, instead of

'converting the lovers, brought them together again; that all his plans are futile, and that only the Father Confessor La Chaise can succeed. . . . Repeatedly,' she continues, 'has he deplored with me the King's excesses; *why then does he not absolutely refuse him the Sacrament?—but he prefers a half conversion.* The Father is a good sort of man, but the atmosphere of the Court corrupts the purest virtue, and smooths down the austerest.'

This is the view of the devout Maintenon, the zealous Catholic.

Many such separations took place between the pair, due to temporary repentance, each relapse being condoned by the Church, which thereupon received either further sanction for persecution or large sums to purchase conversions. But it

was the King's religious fervour, shown in occasional paroxysms (which the clergy exploited assiduously for their own ends), and not his repentance which they worked for. Madame de Maintenon writes (October 28, 1679):

'The King is full of good feelings, sometimes reads the Holy Scripture, which he finds the most beautiful of all books. He acknowledges his weaknesses and his faults: we must wait for Grace to act on him: he thinks seriously about converting the Heretics, and very soon we shall work seriously at it. . . .'

Not throughout the merciless edicts, memorials, and declarations, not even in the *Requests of the Clergy*, do we find any accusations of sedition made against the Huguenots, or of their being dangerous to the State, or doubtful in their allegiance to the King.[1] Rulhière shows this and adds that the majority of the Bishops, to flatter the King's piety, and the inferior clergy to please the Bishops and get a reputation at Court, scrupled not to vie with each other in buying conversions and receiving abjurations feigned or real; and that not only did clerical intolerance and fanaticism (hitherto hardly restrained) break all bounds, but ambition, self-interest, and vanity all took their share. 'God makes use of every means,' say they. Even in his *Memoirs* Louis XIV, who complains of his judges, financiers, nobility, clergy, courtiers, never raises a murmur against the Huguenots; but he does attribute the divisions in his Church to the vices and incompetence of the clergy, their luxury and debaucheries during two centuries.

From the year 1680, such had been their success that the Assemblies of the Clergy now no longer complain, but the addresses are full of thankfulness and praise; and no wonder, for they were getting the free hand they required, and no legal steps were necessary before the infliction of the most fearful penalties. The names of Foucault and De Bâville, tools of the Hierarchy, deserve to be handed down with execration: the former, as Intendant or Governor of Béarn, was so zealous for

[1] Gibbon observes that even pagan princes allowed their resentment to expire after their victories, and when danger was over. Would that the French King and Hierarchy had followed this pagan example!

the clerical instigators that he devised new tortures, excruciating but not fatal, studying how to make their victims endure the greatest amount of agony possible without actually dying.

All this led to the revolt of the *Camisards,* and its repression by ferocities comparable only to the crusades against the Waldenses, or the sacking of 'The Palatinate' (which we have referred to above). These ferocities were fostered by a Bull of Clement XI 'granting absolution to those who exterminate these heretics, the accursed offshoot of the execrable Albigenses.'

In 1704 Father Louvreleul compiled his work *Le Fanatisme renouvelé, ou Histoire des Sacrilèges, &c., que les Calvinistes révoltés ont commis dans les Cévennes et des châtiments qu'on en a faits*; which was published at Avignon and translated into English. In his introduction he speciously absolves his Church from all guilt in the martyrdom of heretics. She only gave the verdict of 'guilty,' and the secular arm inflicted the legal penalty incurred; consequently the State is responsible, and not the Church, which should be absolutely cleared of all blame from the time the heretics left her 'merciful care' for secular punishment. His work is a continuous recital of cruelties by the Camisards—but not one word of those which compelled them to revolt, nor of the atrocities inflicted on them afterwards by the King's troops.

And what was the man for whom the Church abdicated her high mission, and stooped to condonation of vice, allowing his fits of repentance to be *attrition* though not *contrition*? Let us acknowledge his high qualities as a Sovereign: let us admit that he caused France to be feared and respected, extended her boundaries for a time, and raised her to a height she had never yet attained; that he humbled Spain and even the Pope, as also that he protected Art, Science, Letters, and Learning: but when all this is granted, what remains?[1] Let us remove the trappings of Royal pomp; the excitements of victories; his laurels stained with blood—the blood of his own subjects; the adulation of Court and populace; the

[1] For an eloquent, impartial estimate of Louis XIV see Sir James Stephen, *Lectures on French History,* vol. ii. p. 416.

glamour of a false glory which cost the nation an incalculable amount in blood and treasure; and what remained even in the noon-day of his reign?—what remained at its close? He lived to see territory he annexed wrenched from France; by his ceaseless passion for glory, his unsatisfied ambition, his selfishness and reckless extravagance, her finances were exhausted, her population decimated by battles, starvation, and emigration; her commerce was crippled by the 'Revocation,' and taxation rose beyond the recuperative power of the nation; European rulers mistrusted the plighted word and signed treaties of him who violated both yet would perforce be King and Pope, arrogating to himself the triple power of the Tiara over the bodies and souls of his subjects for time and eternity.

Superstition and his belief in his own unerring judgment amounting to personal infallibility prompted his persecution of Jansenists and Quietists with the same severity as he did the Calvinists; his despotism, remorseless and unchecked by Church or State, crushed all opposition and made him impose even on the members of his own family as merciless a yoke as the one he inflicted on his subjects, to whose sufferings he was absolutely callous.[1]

Physically an Apollo, surpassingly seductive, but without the virtue of humanity even towards his own subjects; devoid of religion though saturated with superstition; shrinking from the thought of death, the mention of which was a breach of Bourbon 'etiquette'; stained with the infamy of 'religious' persecutions, more searching, more cruel and continuous than the Valois murders; dishonoured by his contempt for treaties and promises—such was Louis XIV. To crown all—ungratefully forgetting that to Duquêne, Turenne, and other Huguenots he owed some of his finest victories by sea and land and the wealth of France, he sacrificed the lives of tens of thousands of their co-religionists, his most faithful, peaceful, pure-living subjects: all this in the blind trust that by this vicarious sacrifice (sanctioned by the Church, which had charge of his

[1] Sir James Stephen, *Lectures on French History*, vol. ii. p. 416.

soul and of his conscience) he should wipe out the penalties due from the God he invoked and offended, and regain that celestial happiness forfeited by his foul example flaunted for over half a century before the world: the greatest adept (as St.-Simon said) at getting to Heaven on the shoulders of others.

And what a warning was his brilliant Court, his earthly Paradise of Versailles! There every nobleman followed the Royal *mode* and had his official 'Favourite'; and this continued through the reign of the fifteenth Louis—till the 'volcano' of retribution swept all away indiscriminately. There, virtue and modesty were looked on with pity and contempt, and could not shield the lovely Louise de la Vallière from falling a victim to the Royal caprice when but a child of seventeen—she whom Madame de Sévigné describes as 'sweet, gentle, timid as a fawn, the modest violet hiding in the herbage, blushing at being the . . . Favourite, the Mother, the Duchess—never will there be such another . . .'; but her life has been finely described as that of eight short years of sad . . . not sudden, but unceasing progress from innocence to splendour—from the idolised to the deserted—from the deserted to the penitent and devout—and then to the living burial of the cloister.

Truly could Louis say:

> This is *my* work! 'Twas I for whom that soul
> Forsook its native element: for me,
> Sorrow consumed thy youth, and conscience gnawed
> That tender unreproachful heart.
> And now this crowns the whole! the Priest—the Altar—
> The sacrifice—the Victim!

This was the man for whom one favourite was invariably supplanted by another; Louise the injured one succeeded by Montespan, who 'betraying a friend, was by a friend betrayed: the Nun was avenged by the Devotee, and what Montespan was to La Vallière, Maintenon was to Montespan.' This was the man for whom fastings, religious ceremonies, and eloquence from the pulpit were intermingled with continued sinfulness, and produced for the Church the compensations which we

have described, and which she exacted as the price of her forbearance to the Royal sinner. And each of these 'Reines de la main gauche,' when in turn discarded, sought shelter in the nunneries of the Church each had aided, confident that the leniency shown her *in flagrante delicto* would grant facile absolution after her—compulsory—penitence.

Louis was a willing slave to his vices, shamelessly parading them before his Court, his family, his camps, his Church, and glorying in his turpitudes. Let the reader consult his *Memoirs and Instructions for the Dauphin*, where he claims to possess absolute right over the life, death, and property of his subjects, and to be the 'Lieutenant of God on Earth'; let him read De Bonnechose, who confesses that:

'dazzled by the greatness of his reign, intoxicated by universal praise, conqueror of every resistance, he almost arrived at believing that his was a nature superior to most mortals, and that his glory rendered right on his part what would be guilty in the sight of God if done by others . . . this and his private life (the knowledge of which he forced on his Queen and on the Nation) all struck a blow at national morals well nigh as fatal as the shameless vices of his successor.'

During all this time he was despotic in his rule over the Church: the clergy could neither communicate directly with nor receive letters from the Pope, without his permission: still less could the Bishops visit Rome without his authority; though each had taken oath at his consecration that he would visit his 'limina apostolorum'; the Royal 'placet' was needed for the promulgation in France of all Papal decrees, even in matters of faith. With a stroke of his pen he could have put a stop to the cruelties demanded by the Church, which kept him in abject bondage—but he held that 'il y a des accommodements même avec le Ciel' and would not jeopardise his soul.

Bossuet acquiesced in all these limitations of Rome's authority, and even threatened her with the King's anger, if the condemnation of the religious tenets of his rival, Fénelon, were further delayed; to Bossuet the will of the King, far

more than that of the Pope, was law—for it meant the annihilation of the Huguenots.

Yet Louis had not the moral courage to take upon himself the responsibility of these edicts; and we find repeated statements in the despatches of Louvois and others ordering Dragonnades and adding that 'the King orders these instructions to be conveyed *verbally* to the Civic authorities, *without letting them know that the King desires by such means to convert the Huguenots*, merely explaining that *you are giving these orders on the information you have received. . .*' (March 18, 1681). Here and continuously 'secret orders' for cruel measures are made use of, so as to show if needful that the Monarch had nothing to do with it. These despatches were at the Paris War Department in Rulhière's time (1788).[1]

What did Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambray, say to his Royal Master in his outspoken 'Memorial to the King'?

'You love not God, but dread Him with the terror of a slave; you fear Hell, but not God; your religion consists in superstition; you are full of scruples about small things, but hard to crying evils, and love your own glorification and self-indulgence. . . . You refer to yourself as though you were the God of the Universe and all others created only to be sacrificed to you.' (See d'Alembert's works, vol. viii. and Sir J. Stephen's *Lectures*.)

This document was published in 1825, and in it he accuses the King's confessor La Chaise of being narrow-minded, keeping the King in darkness, and being a blind man leading the blind.

The contests between the Popes and Louis XIV as to the Régales had also much to do with the free hand given to the Church for the persecution of the Huguenots. The

[1] Proofs for everything we have thus stated will be found in the *Actes, Titres et Mémoires du Clergé de France*, 14 vols. 4to. 1768–71; Elie Benoît's *Révocation*, Rulhière's *Eclaircissements Historiques . . . sur la Révocation . . .* 8vo. 1788, Claude's *Plaintes des Protestants de France*, J. Migault's *Narrative of the Sufferings of a French Protestant Family at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, 8vo. 1824, Elie Neau's *Soufrances sur les galères et dans les cachots de Marseille*, Rotterdam, 1701; the numerous Memoirs of contemporary well-known personages, such as the Duc de St.-Simon, the more modern works of Capefigue, de Goncourt, and others.

'Régales' were the revenues of certain bishoprics during their vacancies and the right to appoint to benefices within *their* jurisdiction—ancient privileges of the French Kings: not content with these, Louis XIV in 1682 extended this right over *all* the bishoprics in his kingdom; and this brought down the wrath of Rome.

Yet the clergy supported their Sovereign unanimously in defence of these 'Gallican Liberties,' and a superficial view of their action has led to exaggerated laudation of their bold independence of action towards Rome in this matter. But was it for freedom and Christian tolerance they thus acted? Was it not in exchange for a free hand to persecute? Was not this the very ecclesiastical body that used violence to force conversions? Was not their most potent weapon 'The Dragonnade'?

The 'Acts of the Assemblies of the Clergy,' their original 'Consent' to the Extension Edict of the King, show their real motive. It was an exchange: in return for granting it and other financial advantages arising from the 'Extension,' the Sovereign was to continue handing over the Calvinists, tied and bound, to the tender mercies of their implacable foes, whose great aim was to annihilate heretics for ever by the final 'Révocation' which so soon followed. The State required money: the clergy required heretics, and expressly stated in their official 'acts' that they supported the King out of gratitude for the measures he had already taken to repress heresy, and for the further repressions he had promised. It was a mere question of base barter—money and condonation of flagitious immoralities granted in exchange for Huguenot martyrs.

But a little more than ten years after, in September 1693, these prelates actually addressed a cringing supplication to the Pope, deploring their adhesion to the Act of 1682, withdrawing their signatures, and recanting *everything* contained therein. The motive for this also is as clear as that for their first move. The 'Révocation' had been signed: the victims had been handed over: their tortures were authorised and carried out at every demand by the Church: the extinction

of heresy was almost complete: ecclesiastical pandering had accomplished its purpose, and it was now politic for the Church to make a friend of the Pope.

And who were the leaders of that Church?

Were they illiterate and ignorant? No! what do we read in the *Life of Bossuet*?

'The Church of France united at this period, in the highest degree, the virtues, the light, the talents, and the spirit of order and submission which assure the success of religion and the peace of Empires.

'In the foremost ranks were Bishops whose names have been long hallowed by the respect and admiration of posterity, or whose virtues, perhaps less public, but not the less useful, have rendered their names dear and precious to the dioceses they governed. . . . In an inferior rank were counted a multitude of ecclesiastics throughout France, of whom some, by their writings, their examples, and the weight of their learning, kept up throughout every class of society the love of religion, the desire for virtue, respect for morality; while others founded or directed every kind of establishment which Christian charity has prepared for the poverty, misfortune, and infirmities of mankind. Religious Orders, secular and regular Congregations, gave themselves with as much zeal as disinterestedness to every branch of public instruction, and to the deep and learned researches, of which the results, still extant, enriched every European Library.

'Such was the grand spectacle presented by the Church of France, at the period of the opening of the Assembly of the Clergy in 1682.' (*Histoire de Bossuet*, liv. vii.)

Yes! such were the men whose Faith impelled them to act in the way we have described. Yet, according to Father André, the Duchess of Orléans wrote in 1699: 'Faith is so extinguished in this country that one now hardly sees a young man who does not wish to be an atheist.'

Of Louis XIV we may use the words of the great Chancellor de L'Hôpital when speaking of *The Massacre* (1572): 'Il faut mourir quand on n'a pas pu prévenir de tels malheurs.' But the 'Révocation' was the work of the *clergy*, who forced it on by rapid strides through their repeated 'Requests' and

'Remonstrances'; Bossuet, Fléchier, La Chaise, the entire body of Jesuits, the consecutive Royal Confessors, Cardinals de Rohan and de Bussy—all urged on every step, every edict which led up to it.

The real 'Glory' for the extermination of the Huguenots belongs to them: they were the foremost conspirators and made King and Ministers, Governors and Officers, mere tools of the Church, who (often unwillingly) carried out her inhuman measures. The clergy tacitly accepted that glory but *in public* passed it on to the Royal executioner.

Religious persecutions under Louis XIV were not *caused* by the State alone, but by the fanaticism of the Church working on the superstition of the monarch who, on his death-bed, calling around him those who had been his spiritual advisers, addressed to them these sad memorable words: 'If *you* have misled and deceived me *you* are deeply guilty, for indeed I acted in good faith—in truth I sought the peace of *the Church*.' (*St.-Simon's Memoirs*, vol. xi. 44.) And that Church condoned to the last all the sins of 'His Most Christian Majesty'—his overweening pride, vanity, and ambition, his unjust wars, his despotic exactions, his open and flagrant evil life and personal irreligion, even his insults to the Court of Rome—all were ignored, nay, some approved (as we have shown above) so long as compensation in the shape of uncompromising and heartless cruelty against heretics was given to her. To her Louis XIV was 'Grand Monarque' indeed, whilst he dragooned Protestants and extirpated heresy. To her this was the 'one thing needful'; she persistently persecuted on principle and proclaimed, as an unquestioned and essential dogma, her mission, and her *right*, to do so.

Bossuet, that pillar of the Church, was one of the most ardent and conscientious persecutors of the period; and, as confirmatory of the cause of the Jansenist and Huguenot sufferings, we cannot do better than conclude with the following extract from one of that great ecclesiastic's works:

'The Church of Rome is the most intolerant of all Christian sects; it is her holy and inflexible incompatibility which renders

her severe, unconciliating, and odious to all sects separated from her; they desire only to be tolerated by her; but her holy severity forbids such indulgence. . . . The exercise of the power of the sword in matters of religion and conscience is a point not to be called in question, and there is no illusion more dangerous than to make toleration a characteristic of the true Church.'

A hierarchy of sycophants and opportunists debased religion; by pandering to Royal vices it shattered the standard of morality in every home, and we can sorrowfully but truthfully say of the age of the 'Grand Monarque' what Aimé Martin wrote of his own time:

'Quel spectacle plus effrayant que celui d'un peuple actif et vigoureux se débattant entre les murs d'airain de l'égoisme et de la fausse Gloire. Ce spectacle nous le présentons au monde parceque le sentiment religieux nous manque; et le sentiment religieux nous manque parceque nos mères ont oublié de le déposer sur le berceau de leurs enfants.'

Stephen Dolet.

By W. WYATT-PAINE.

An idea permeating and energising not only the philosophies of Greece but also those Oriental systems of vastly greater antiquity, whose origin is lost in the mystery of prehistoric time, is, that again and again in ever-recurring cycles through the long æons of eternity the visible universe renews its youth and ushers in a golden age of happiness and plenty wherein throughout a rejuvenated world righteousness and peace dwell together.

This idea of a great sabbatical year in which the aged Earth shall renew her youth has been the solace and the hope of many of the great thinkers of all ages. Whether they deemed that happy consummation would synchronise with the dawning of the age-long glories of the Kalpa, or day of Brahma, or whether that the visible Universe would renew itself upon the conjunction of the seven planets, as was imagined in certain Hellenic philosophies, there was one common factor in these lovely philosophic dreams, that impelled men in cloudy and dark days to look forward with yearning anticipation to the period when the Supreme Mundane Architect would decree

> 'The world's great age begins anew,
> The golden years return,
> The earth doth like a snake renew
> Her winter weeds outworn:
> Heaven smiles, and faiths and empires gleam,
> Like wrecks of a dissolving dream.'
>
> *Hellas.*

And this one factor common to all these forms of philosophy was a belief that the great cycle of absolute perfection was compounded of numerous lesser periods of partial rejuvenation,

separated indeed from one another by intervening periods of moral and physical darkness and disorganisation but nevertheless pregnant with good whenever they returned, and consequently that the dawning of any one of these lesser cycles would bring to men rest and surcease from some of the manifold perplexities of life.

Half-way through the fifteenth century Latin Europe seemed to awake from a sleep of ages, and, as the Giant Enceladus beneath Mount Ætna occasionally heaves and stirs in his agony and manifests himself in earthquake and eruption, even so Europe awakened with pangs and mortal throes from the torpor of the dark ages into a mysterious and wonderful unrest.

The exact cause of this strange phenomenon it is difficult, even in the light of after-events, clearly to imagine.

It may be that the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, by driving many of the Greeks, amongst whom philosophy, science, and art long lingered, into other countries, revived, in some degree, earlier concepts of truth and beauty.

Or it may be, as was certainly believed by some of the learned men of an age in which all learning was deeply pervaded by the philosophical speculations of the Hellenes, that the Renaissance was indeed a partial rejuvenation of the world.

But whatever was the cause, throughout the whole of Europe at this particular period there was in the minds of men a vague but unmistakeable premonition of and waiting for a coming change.

The sun indeed had not yet risen in the Eastern horizon, but 'dawn was tiptoe on the hills.'

Many were the factors causing unrest: from a New World streamed into Spain and thence into Europe the ill-gotten gold of a Western Continent. In Germany, Luther (born 1483), married in 1525 to Catherine von Bora, a secularised nun, was leading a great crusade against the corruption of the Church.

In Italy the philosophy of Plato and the learning of Imperial Rome had ceased to be outworn beliefs and were actually moulding the thoughts and inspiring the actions of men;

whilst in France those few lurid gleams of genius which had served only to accentuate the darkness of the Middle Ages were flickering out in pallid smoke against the growing light of a newer and a better day.

Upon the stage which I have thus endeavoured to describe —a world in transition—was born at Orleans on August 3, 1509, that man who has been denominated by one of his many biographers the 'Christ of the Renaissance,' Stephen Dolet.

His parentage is wrapped in considerable mystery; one account states he was the natural son of Francis I by a young girl of Orleans named Cureau, but as in 1509 Francis (then Duke of Valois) was only sixteen years old this seems improbable. Another contemporary writer (an avowed enemy) in a bitter and venomous article says: 'It is not strange that Stephen Dolet should be the worst of men seeing that he was the image of his father who died by the hands of the common executioner of Orleans.'

Dolet himself was at all times singularly reticent as to his parentage, the only reference he makes to his origin being in a letter to his friend Budé, in which he says: 'I was born at Orleans, and the honourable and even distinguished position which my birth gave me amongst my fellow citizens I do not care to discuss, preferring to leave such matters to those who place pride of ancestry above personal merit.'

Whatever may have been his parentage, it is at least certain that until he was twelve years of age Dolet lived in Orleans surrounded by most of the comforts and luxuries of life.

He says in the magniloquent manner and language peculiar to him that he received from his earliest years a liberal education quite regardless of cost and was considerably advanced in polite learning when he left his native city for Paris in 1521.

During his five years' residence in the capital he applied himself diligently to that study of classical literature which afterwards constituted the inspiration of his life.

Here he acquired that profound admiration for Cicero which henceforward permeated his intellect and was such a marked and distinctive feature alike of his writings and of his

ideals, though this he only shared with many other learned writers of the period in which he flourished.

It is possible the exaggerated reverence with which Marcus Tullius was regarded by the erudite of the sixteenth century may savour, at the present day, somewhat of absurdity. But the Renaissance was not so much a revolt against the darkness and ignorance of the preceding centuries as an actual re-birth and renewal of the learning and literature of classic Rome. Even Erasmus, whose good sense preserved him from the wild extravagances of language in which Dolet and many of his contemporaries occasionally indulged, says (speaking of Cicero) that he considers him divine rather than human, and adds in one of his *Colloquies* that without fear and without shame he feels bound to say he can never read Cicero's *De Senectute* or *De Amicitia* without from time to time stooping to kiss the page and ponder with veneration on that Celestial Deity who could thus steep the soul of the writer in holy inspiration.

Apart from his classical studies but little is known of our hero during his five years' sojourn in Paris ; the only incident calling for remark being that when he was about sixteen years of age he studied rhetoric under his illustrious fellow-townsman of Orleans, Nicolas Berauld, who later on was the tutor of the three great Colignys—the Admiral, the Cardinal, and the General—and who is said to have instilled into the mind of the martyr of St. Bartholomew's Day those principles which have made his name illustrious in the annals of Protestant France.

In 1527 Dolet left Paris to study at the University of Padua, which (under the beneficent rule of the Venetian Republic) was then at the height of its renown.

A galaxy of the most brilliant scholars of the Renaissance was here assembled, comprising, amongst many others, Bembo, Contarini, Sadolet, and Morone. At Padua, writes Paleario in 1530, 'dwell poets, orators, and philosophers galore. It is the chosen refuge of science and learning, an asylum where Pallas shelters and encourages all those arts which adorn men.'

The years spent by Dolet in Padua during the most impressionable period of life had doubtless much to do in moulding

his after-career. It was there, beyond all reasonable doubt, he imbibed some of those opinions which twenty years later were to lead him to the scaffold and furnish his enemies with an excuse for branding him with the charge of atheism and blasphemy. Nor is this to be wondered at, seeing that the University of Padua at this period was the centre of a philosophical school of thought (founded on Plato and Aristotle), the genius of which was diametrically opposed to the doctrines of Christianity. But Literature and her sister Typography were the twin goddesses at whose shrine Dolet was fain to worship, and though the pure paganism taught at Padua, first by his master Pomponatius, and afterwards by his successor Simon Villanovanus, doubtless led him to prefer agnosticism to a creed which offered to the faithful as specifics for sin and titles to immortality a phial of the veritable marriage wine of Cana, the comb of the Blessed Virgin, the shield of St. Michael the Archangel, and other relics of equal value and authenticity, it was nevertheless not Philosophy itself but its visible exponent Typography which attracted Dolet and has rendered his name famous in the roll of those author-craftsmen of the Renaissance, who first composed and afterwards printed their own works. Upon the death of Simon Villanovanus, to whom Dolet was much attached, he quitted Padua for Venice as secretary to Jean de Langeac, Bishop of Limoges, who was sent as French Ambassador Extraordinary to the Venetian Republic. This mission lasted for about a twelvemonth, during which period Dolet made the acquaintance of Giovanni Baptista Egnazio, the friend and partner of Aldus, whose lovely editions of Caesar, Suetonius, and Ovid are still so well known.

On Dolet's return to France in 1532 he enrolled himself as a student of law at the University of Toulouse, the necessary fees and cost of maintenance being defrayed by his many and powerful, though sometimes anonymous, patrons, amongst whom, later on in life, was included Francis I himself.

This circumstance has induced some of Dolet's biographers, in spite of the innate improbability to which I have already referred, to believe that that gallant but most immoral prince had particular and very cogent personal reasons for according

to him his patronage. Toulouse possessed at this time the most celebrated school of law in France and enjoyed such a reputation for science that students of jurisprudence resorted thither from all the countries of Europe. Urged by the solicitations of his friends, and especially by those of his patron Jean de Langeac, Dolet took up his residence and studied jurisprudence in this city, which was notorious as being one of the most bigoted and priest-ridden places in France.

'During three centuries,' says a contemporaneous writer, 'Toulouse was the chief centre of religious intolerance and superstition and had the bad pre-eminence of being the original seat of the Inquisition in France.' So kindly indeed did the city take to this institution that ere long the Parliament of the University, the city officials, and the populace vied one with the other as to which should show themselves the most faithful adherents of the Holy Office and render it the most signal services. Here the Inquisitor General of France (designated especially by the Pope and duly authorised by the King) held his chief tribunal and enjoyed absolute authority. In fact, so great was his power that not only the Provincial Governors but even the Kings of France themselves could not enter the faithful city without first solemnly swearing to maintain the Catholic faith and the supremacy of the Holy Office.

It was in Toulouse a few years later that the orthodox citizens happily anticipated St. Bartholomew by publicly massacring all the Huguenots they could find, the City Council subsequently finishing the meritorious work by haling to execution all those who escaped assassination. And in commemoration of this noble deed the city fathers established an annual festival, which was subsequently confirmed by a Bull of Pius IV, granting special indulgences to all those who took part in the rejoicings. Such was the character of this orthodox city to which Dolet betook himself in 1532.

The students at the University were at this time divided into clans or 'nations' between whom there existed great rivalry. There were, amongst others, the Italian nation, the German nation, the French nation (and this latter was

subdivided into the French nation proper, the nation of Acquitaine or Gascony in which Toulouse itself is situated, and several other sections of a like kind).

Very soon after joining the School of Law, Dolet, by the unanimous vote of his fellow-countrymen, was elected orator of the French nation, and in that capacity delivered a fiery speech against the intolerance, bigotry, and ignorance of the Toulousians.

Fierce recriminations followed, and Dolet, at all times possessed of a hasty, passionate, and impetuous disposition, thus early in his literary career attracted the life-long and implacable hatred of a crowd of enemies.

In a period of political and social unrest the ordinary relations of life are apt easily to degenerate into party animosities, and that which begins in a mere difference of opinion but too often ends in a war of principles, and this Dolet soon found to his cost. His hot-headed Gascon adversaries, headed by their chosen orator Pinache, bitterly resented his attack and brought against him a charge of Lutheranism. This charge, though entirely unfounded, constituted the first faggot of that pyre which a few years later on was to consume his ashes in the Place Maubert in Paris.

At that period the mere fact of a person presuming to study Greek or Hebrew sufficed to raise against him a *primâ facie* presumption of heresy. The persecutions to which Rabelais was subjected, in his retirement, on account of his 'dear Greek books' are matters of notoriety. An accusation of heresy therefore was one which nobody dared disregard. What course then did Dolet adopt? Instead of defending his position and claiming that right of freedom of thought which is the reasonable heritage of all men, he at once denied the charge. These are his own words: 'I hate nothing,' said he, 'so much as these new-fangled errors and no one is more opposed to them than I am.' But although he declared himself a firm adherent of the Catholic Faith as accepted in France he nevertheless, by a sort of generous inconsequence, committed a heinous crime against Toulousian justice by pleading in glowing words the despised causes of religious toleration and Christian

charity to all men irrespective of creed. Moreover, not content with tilting at the windmills of superstitious ignorance and intolerance, our Don Quixote apparently took pains to incense the secular powers of the city against him. At this time the lieutenant-governor of the province, and consequently the greatest secular person in Toulouse, was Gratien du Pont, Comte de Drusac, an autocratic and rather incompetent governor and an execrable poet, who like most poetasters was exceedingly proud of his verses. This worthy gentleman our hero, in a series of derisive verses, held up to public ridicule, with the almost inevitable result that, upon a charge of sedition being preferred against him, Dolet was straightway convicted and cast into prison, from which it took all the influence of his patron, the Bishop of Limoges, to release him. The letter sent by the Bishop to the civic authorities pleading his cause is extant. In it he says:

'Stephen Dolet is a young man of rare merit and great capacity, and I beg of you to accord him in the peril in which he has plunged himself your high and influential protection. He has such a perfect knowledge of the Latin tongue that if he attempts elegiacs he equals Ovid, and if he uses lyric, iambic, or hendecasyllabic verse he rivals Horace and Catullus.'

After a short term of imprisonment Dolet was released, and on August 1, 1534, having shaken the dust of Toulouse from off his feet, he arrived, broken alike in health and spirits, after a journey partly performed on foot, at Lyons, the city which of all others was henceforward most intimately to be associated with him. In one of his poems he describes it in glowing language; the last two lines are as follows:

'Rich mother of a mighty race, most beautiful she stands,
Receiving in her outstretched arms the wealth of many lands.'

Of all the cities of France at this epoch Lyons was the most wealthy, the most polished, the most liberal in opinion, and the most literate. Those outstretched arms which embraced the commerce of a world also embraced all that was best in literature and progress.

François Rabelais, Clément Marot, Nicolas Bourbon de Vandœuvres, and a host of others, resided here during the period between 1530 and 1540; whilst Erasmus, Pole, Théodore de Bèze, Emile Ferret, and last, and perhaps greatest of all, Guillaume Budé himself, called by Erasmus the miracle of France, made long and frequent visits to the beloved city. When Dolet arrived there he found at the head of that profession with which his name was hereafter to be indissolubly connected—for typography in that age was a learned profession and not a trade—the celebrated Sebastien Gryphius, who during the thirty-three years of his business life published more than 1000 editions of different Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, and French books.

From his hands the masterpieces of Rabelais and Clément Marot and the learned works of Sanctus Pagnini, the Hebrew scholar, were first given to the world, and it was at the feet of this Gamaliel that Dolet acquired much of his proficiency in the art of typography. Hasty temper and independence of spirit gave the death-blows to many of our hero's friendships, and his constant quarrels with his fellow-craftsmen ultimately contributed much to his ruin, but his affection for Gryphius was lifelong, and it was to him that he dedicated the fourth book of his Poems which was published in 1538. The closing words of the dedication are :—

> 'I desire to dedicate this Fourth Book to you as an eternal proof of the friendship which for so long a time has existed between us.'

From the day of his arrival at Lyons until that final day twelve years later, when he suffered in the Place Maubert, Lyons was the home of Dolet. Two short trips to Paris, a little excursion to Piedmont in 1544, of which something will be said later, and two long terms of imprisonment of about fifteen months and two years respectively, left him eight years of liberty. These eight years (altogether abandoning the study of the law) he consecrated to literary pursuits. His industry was astonishing. During this period, in addition to being for a time proof-reader to Gryphius and three other local printers, he published at least fifteen different works of

his own composition, some being very voluminous ; he translated and printed five other books, besides passing through the press more than fifty editions of various Greek, Latin, and French works, most of which he edited and supplemented by original matter of his own.

In November 1534 Dolet went to Paris to obtain the necessary royal permission to publish his Commentaries, but the hour was unpropitious, for just at that time the doctors of the Sorbonne succeeded in obtaining from Francis I (father of letters as he is sometimes called) an edict, not only suppressing the publication of all heretical books, but actually suppressing all printed works whatsoever, upon the general ground that printing was inimical to the Catholic Faith ; so Dolet returned to Lyons disappointed.

History shows Francis to have been a curious mixture of credulity and liberality of thought, a strange blend of gallantry and the most abandoned profligacy. He appears to have had a sincere regard alike for literature and literary men, and yet he allowed the Reformation to be burnt in the person of Berquin, and, later on, the Renaissance in the person of Dolet.

Early in February 1536 Francis visited Lyons and on this occasion granted Dolet the requisite permission to publish his book, and shortly afterwards the first volume of the Commentaries saw the light. It is the fate of most authors to suffer many things at the hands of their critics, and Dolet was no exception to the rule. The publication of the Commentaries roused a storm throughout France, the friends of progress, enlightenment, and of the Renaissance applauding and those who loved darkness rather than light decrying this celebrated work, which had occupied the leisure hours of the author for many years past. The tempest, however, at length blew over, and temporary peace came to this unquiet, hard-working, but very quarrelsome spirit.

On the last day of December 1536 a new misfortune befel Dolet. Attacked in the streets of Lyons by one of his enemies, a painter named Compaing, he defended himself vigorously and slew his assailant. The watch hastened to arrest him,

but Dolet, with the aid of his friends, managed to elude them and fled the city. Hastening to Paris, he solicited the protection of Francis I, to whom he was presented by Cardinal Tournier. The King acceded to his suit and granted him a free pardon. In order to celebrate this auspicious event all the great literati of Paris, including Budé, Clément Marot, Rabelais, Berauld, Cusanus, Macrin, Bourbon, and many others, united together and gave him a great send-off banquet.

In spite, however, of the King's promise, Dolet on his return to Lyons was promptly cast into prison, and it was only after repeated applications to Cardinal Tournier that he was released from confinement and permitted to pursue his literary work. Shortly after this adventure he married a Lyonnaise girl named Louise Giraud, and at once applied for and obtained the requisite licence to commence business on his own account. He established himself in the Rue Mercière at the 'Sign of the Golden Ducat,' and Dolet's shop (for so he called it, having none of that bourgeois snobbery which objects to trade) ere long became a successful business enterprise. There issued from his press 'books new and books venerable and old' which he sold so quickly and at such remunerative prices that, as he tells us, 'of all he had produced remained not one.' The earliest productions of his press were his 'Cato Christianus' and his 'Carmina.' These were soon followed by a work written and printed to celebrate the birth of his first-born son. The 'Carmina,' to which allusion has been made, was a collection of Latin verses, containing many graceful and spirited lines, but disfigured by numerous virulent epigrams denouncing in unmeasured terms the ignorance and superstition of the priesthood, which of course provoked bitter reprisals.

In 1539 was published a history of Francis I from 1515 to 1539, entitled the *Chronicles of Francis of Valois, King of France.* A variety of smaller volumes appeared about the same time, among which may be mentioned a remarkable translation intituled the *Familiar Epistles of Marcus Tullius Cicero, the Father of Latin Eloquence.* In spite of his many engagements, Dolet found time to edit the works of some of his friends, publishing, amongst others, a couple of Latin treatises by

Cottereau. Shortly afterwards new editions of the works of Clément Marot and of Rabelais were printed by him, and in 1542 was issued from the little shop in the Rue Mercière *La Plaisante et Joyeuse Histoire du Grand Gargantua* : whilst so successful were the works of Clément Marot that Dolet published successively three complete editions in 1538, 1542, and 1543.

The prosperity of our craftsman-philosopher appears so to have excited the jealousy of the other printers of Lyons that they entered into a conspiracy to effect his downfall. Denounced as a heretic to the Holy Inquisition, Dolet was arrested and taken before Brother Matthieu Orry, Inquisitor of the Faith, and Master Stephen Faye, Chancellor and Vicar of the Archbishop and Count of Lyons. These worthy gentlemen, as a result of their investigation, upon October 2, 1542, adjudged him 'a heretical, wicked, scandalous, schismatical maker and disseminator of heterodoxy and error,' and as such delivered him over to condign punishment by the secular arm. Happily Dolet had powerful friends who interested themselves mightily on his behalf. Pierre du Chastel (Bayle calls him Castellan) hotly pleaded his cause with Francis and obtained his pardon. Nevertheless, in order to tear poor Dolet out of the clutches of the executioner, it was necessary for the King to grant successively letters of remission (June 15, 1543), letters of amplification (August 1, 1543), and finally letters patent (September 21, 1543). Even then it was only with a very ill grace, and after such delay as to provoke a very severe rebuke from the outraged monarch, that the Parliament of Lyons consented to his liberation.

When Dolet at last came out of the prison in which he had languished for over fifteen months his misfortunes were by no means at an end. He had only been free for a few months when the underhand machinations of his inveterate enemies involved him in a new and final catastrophe. They contrived to send to Paris two parcels, one containing the works of Dolet and the other a number of proscribed and heretical books, both packages being marked with the name of Dolet as the person by whom they had been forwarded. These parcels, as was expected, fell into the hands of the

authorities in Paris, who, in spite of the transparent nature of the fraud (for no one save a madman would have sent proscribed books in such a manner to the capital), professed to believe that Dolet was the actual sender, and anew ordered him to be arrested and cast into prison in Lyons.

Dolet, who by this time had little confidence in the justice of the authorities, managed to effect his escape from prison by means of the following stratagem. The account is taken from a contemporaneous report.

'His denial of the charges availed him nothing. He was promptly seized and thrust into prison (in Lyons) where, however, he only remained a couple of days. On the third day he persuaded his gaoler to accompany him to his shop in the Rue Mercière, in order that he might receive a large sum of money which he said was due to him and would not be paid unless he was there to receive it.

'As an inducement he told him he had a pipe of excellent Muscat wine in his cellar just ready to be buzzed, and if he would go with him he should drink his fill, though it were a skin-full.

'Seduced by the promise of the liquor and the prospect of a liberal commission on the money, the gaoler (who was a great man in his cups), accompanied by four police officers to prevent Dolet's escape, set out before dawn on the third day for the Rue Mercière, in which Dolet's shop was situated. The backs of the houses in this street abut on the River Saône which runs parallel with them.

'Upon the arrival of the party Dolet sharply rapped at the door which was suddenly opened and as suddenly slammed to when he was inside, the astonished gaoler and his myrmidons being left out in the street. Before they knew where they were, Dolet had slipped into a boat anchored at the back of the house and fled to Piedmont, leaving his quondam gaoler to make the best excuse he could to the authorities for the evasion. From his sanctuary in Piedmont, Dolet addressed imploring letters to the King and numerous other powerful patrons and friends. Unfortunately, filled with overweening confidence in the result of his petitions to the King, and yearning to see his family, he was imprudent enough secretly to return to Lyons. His disguise was soon penetrated and he was at once denounced to the authorities and cast into prison.

'This time his enemies determined he should not escape them, and straightway despatched him to Paris, where he was incarcerated in the Conciergerie. The proceedings against him dragged slowly

on, and it was nearly two years after his arrest when he was brought to trial. During his long imprisonment he wrote a melancholy and touching poem entitled "The Canticles of Stephen Dolet in Prison, his Desolation and his Consolation."'

After prolonged search through his writings his accusers at last found in his translation of the *Axiochus* of Plato (which they were so ignorant as to term, in the act of condemnation, 'Acochius') grounds for a capital charge against him. Plato in this dialogue has put in the mouth of Socrates the statement that 'After death thou shalt be nothing,' and for printing these words, isolated from their context, to which he had added for elucidatory purposes 'rien du tout,' Dolet was indicted before the ecclesiastical tribunal of the Sorbonne in Paris and found guilty of blasphemy and heresy as denying the immortality of the soul,[1] this sentence being afterwards confirmed by the Court of the Parliament.

On August 2, 1546, Dolet was adjudged guilty of death and condemned to be hanged and afterwards burnt to ashes together with his books. The execution was fixed for the day following (August 3) in the Place Maubert. By a strange coincidence the unfortunate martyr suffered on his birthday, being just thirty-seven years of age.

Dolet encountered death with supreme fortitude, and it is said, on credible authority, that whilst he was being led to execution he composed the following epigram on himself and on the pitying crowd which accompanied him to the Place Maubert:

'Non dolet ipse Dolet sed pia turba dolet.'
('It is not Dolet himself who suffers but the generous onlookers.')

The tragedy thus consummated was the more remarkable from the fact that although the enlightened soul of Stephen Dolet endured with impatience the galling and vicious yoke of Rome there is no evidence whatever that he actually espoused the Reformed Faith. In fact, it is hard to believe that one

[1] 'Quand tu seras decedé, elle n'y pourra rien aussi, attendu que tu ne seras plus rien du tout' (Dolet's Translation).

so steeped in the traditions of the past would lightly adopt a new creed, especially as one of the great dreams of his life was the purification rather than the abolition of the Catholic faith. The most that the partisans of Rome could allege against him was that he had favoured the dawning Reformation by lending his presses for the publication of works which to use their own words were 'somewhat damaging to the faith.' Dolet had neither the inspiration nor the temperament of the martyr; the sustaining spirit and the firm faith anchored within the veil were never his; and yet with a heroism worthy of a martyr he died the death of one. The pure paganism of the classic studies to which he accorded such lifelong devotion unquestionably affected his character and swayed his imagination; yet there can be little doubt that if Henry of Navarre thought Paris worth a mass, Dolet would have thought life well worth a change of opinion. As a matter of fact, however, he never hesitated to avow himself a faithful son of the Church even when his generous spirit revolted against her tyranny and lack of charity. Nor did he ever fail to retract his so-called heresies when called upon to do so. He himself said at the trial which ended in his condemnation to death that

> 'Like an obedient son he was willing to live and die a true Christian and Catholic according to the law and faith of his forefathers without allying himself to any new sect or contravening in any particular the decrees and ordinances of the Church.'

In the face of such a submission to the Parliament and such a declaration of faith, it is indeed difficult to understand the bloodthirsty hatred with which he was hounded on to death by the judges who tried and passed sentence upon him. It is possible to understand such blind fury and rancour in an Inquisitor of the Holy Office, but that the Supreme Court of France, composed as it was of the highest noblesse of the law,[1] should pass such a sentence is indeed almost incomprehensible, and, after all, what was the offence with which he was charged and for which he suffered? What terrible crime had

[1] In mediaeval France admission to the roll of advocates was equivalent to a patent of nobility.

he committed to exclude him from mercy and from any hope of the royal clemency? Was he an atheist, as his enemies have alleged in excuse for his execution? No, for in his writings he expresses the most profound reverence for God. Did he deny the immortality of the soul, which was the specific crime with which he was charged? Again no! his books show his firm belief in a life after death. Was he an evil liver or prone to debauchery? No one could be more temperate, more chaste, or more laborious than he. His one ambition was that of our English poet who said,—

> Me too perchance, in future day,
> Some sculptured stone may show,
> With Paphian myrtle, or with bay
> Parnassian, on my brow.

He was a good husband and father, and his unfortunate return to Lyons which resulted in his capture was induced by his ardent desire to rejoin his family. His devotion to his friends amounted almost to a passion, and he numbered amongst them some of the most brilliant literary geniuses of the French Renaissance.

What then was his crime?

Stephen Dolet, the poet, the scholar, the philosopher, and the martyr, incredible as it may seem, was put to death for rendering into the vernacular a single passage of Plato.

Truly the words of Erasmus on the martyrdom of Berquin may be applied to him—

'Pious and impious men alike are deemed guilty of death by tyrannical and unjust judges. Alike they are condemned, tortured, strangled, burnt, crucified, or slain by the sword. The judgments of men are diverse and often err. Happy are they who at the last shall be found guiltless by their God!'

The Huguenots in Ulster.

By ROBERT ALFRED McCALL, K.C.

When this paper was first proposed I thought it was my duty to ascertain whether this aspect of the history of a great people had ever been discussed by any of our members. I have been informed that not merely had it not been discussed at all but that some of our members were in considerable doubt as to whether there ever was any Huguenot immigration into Ulster. There was therefore attraction in the novelty of a fresh phase of an old story, at least for those who had the Athenian love for something new. There was not less attraction for me in introducing to you some of the Huguenot traditions familiar to me from my boyhood and associated with my birthplace and my family. The story of the Huguenots in Ulster is not adorned by the many brilliant names found in other settlements in other parts of the British Empire. The settlers in Ulster produced no Grotes, no Bosanquets, no Bayleys or Lefroys, and no one to compare in literature or art with David Garrick—no advocate, lawyer, or philanthropist like Sir Samuel Romilly whose lifework was so worthily recorded in the paper lately read by Sir William Collins. But if the Ulster Huguenots did not give to science or art, to literature or learning, such distinguished names as these, they won for themselves leading positions in commerce, they increased the means of production and wealth in the least fertile of the four Irish Provinces. They vastly extended the area of employment; introduced habits of orderly industry and elevated the ideals of those amongst whom they settled both in public and in home life. Those who had settled in Ulster gave in the crisis of the great Revolution their best efforts and freely shed their blood to maintain the success of the cause of

liberty and the settlement of the United Kingdom in peace under William III.

The Huguenots, in the struggle which finished at the Boyne, joined the Scotch settlers with whom they had so much in common in freedom and form of religion and in love of liberty, and, as Macaulay forcibly said, retreating North 'to the last asylum, and baited into a mood in which men may be destroyed but will not easily be subjugated, the imperial race turned desperately to bay.' Their descendants are still among the leaders in Ulster commerce. They were and are the heroes of industry, 'the heroes of the plough and loom, the anvil and the forge.'

In the short time at my disposal I wish to direct your attention to a sketch, and it can only be a sketch, of a local phase of a large subject in three of its aspects. I propose to consider first the people who came; secondly, the province to which they came; and thirdly, the effect they produced.

The word Huguenot has given rise to many attempts at derivation, some of which might be compared to the cynical and fantastic efforts of Dean Swift. But probably the one that is most authoritative—not as derivation but as explanation—is that given by the distinguished writer of the article on the Huguenots in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The Protestants at Tours used to assemble by night at a gate in the wall called after King Hugo, who was generally regarded by the people as a spirit. A monk therefore in a sermon declared that the Lutherans should be called Huguenots as kinsmen of King Hugo, inasmuch as they only go out at night as the King did. The nickname became popular from about 1535. It was a name which conveyed the scorn of the orthodox and the contempt for the heretic. It was used as the word Puritan was used in England, and the Huguenots like the Puritans were not so much men of letters as men of action. They were as a body unpopular. They could not defend themselves, and the public would not take them under its protection. They were therefore abandoned without reserve to the tender mercies of the satirist, the preacher, and the dramatist. But those had little reason to laugh who encountered them in the hall of

debate or in the field of battle, for they brought to civil and military affairs a coolness of judgment and an immutability of purpose which some have thought inconsistent with their religious zeal. The intensity of their feelings on one subject made them tranquil on every other.

The landmarks of Huguenot history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are the landmarks of persecution and massacre. So early as 1535 the cruel edict of extermination of the heretics was published and enforced through France. The story of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew does not require to be retold. That massacre extended over a period of more than six weeks, and it is probably no exaggeration to say that 100,000 lives were sacrificed. But we are not concerned so much with the revolting cruelty and the still more revolting religious jubilees for murder as with the effect produced upon those who escaped. The varying fortunes of the Huguenots on the field only attached them more sincerely to their religion and made them more determined to preserve their liberties. Macaulay has given admirable expression to this spirit, when he puts into the mouth of the Huguenot who escaped from the disastrous field of Moncontour:

> Oh, weep for Moncontour! Oh! weep for the slain,
> Who for faith and for freedom lay slaughtered in vain!
> Oh, weep for the living, who linger to bear
> The renegade's shame, or the exile's despair!

We shall see how far history bears out the prophecy.

A truce to persecution was secured from 1589 when Henry of Navarre succeeded to the throne of France. In 1598 he was strong enough to promulgate the Edict of Nantes which promised and for some time gave to the Huguenots religious liberty, security for life and property, and the right of public worship. It is more than an historical coincidence that in this year died Philip II of Spain. I do not know whether any contemporary historian saw in the simultaneous death of the King whose name is associated with the Armada and the Inquisition and the Proclamation of Toleration a sign of the coming time when. 'girt by friend or foe, a man may speak the thing he will.'

Pope Clement VIII only expressed the Church's view when he wrote to the King of France saying that the decree which gives liberty of conscience to all was 'the most accursed that had ever been made.' The policy of Richelieu, from his advent to power in 1622, was the extermination of the Protestants as a political party, and his policy was crowned with success. Their political power was destroyed, but there was no general religious persecution and certainly none of a violent kind. They were excluded from civil office and from political appointments. They devoted themselves to agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, and as a religious body they enormously increased in strength. The policy of Colbert was a policy of encouragement to the Huguenots as the most effective means of enriching France and enabling the nation to recover from the devastations and persecutions of the preceding century. That policy he continued to pursue till his death in 1683. For some time before that year Louis XIV, becoming his own minister, began the persecution which terminated in the repeal of the Edict of Nantes. The persecution of the Huguenots had been pursued in spite of the indignant remonstrance of Cromwell and the passionate appeals of Milton. The Puritan spoke in words of fiery appeal in the well-known Sonnet, 'Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered Saints,' but it is more surprising to learn that this persecution moved the indolent Charles II to write to Louis XIV a remonstrance little known:

> 'Sir, I conjure you in the name of Henry whose precious blood circulates in both our veins, to respect the Protestants whom he looked upon as his children. If, as is reported, you wish to compel them to renounce their religion under pain of banishment from your Kingdom, I offer to them an asylum in England, where I will prove to them that I have the honour of being the grandson of the Great Henry by the protection which I shall afford to those who for so long a period fought with distinction under his banner, and shall it be the heir to his throne, his grandson, who destroys a work which had given so much trouble to consolidate, and which finally cost him his life?'

A writer in Chambers's *Encyclopædia* admirably sums up this cruel and disastrous policy of France.

It was Louis XIV, when he became superstitious in his old age, who, at the instigation of Madame de Maintenon and his confessor Père La Chaise, commenced anew the persecution of the Protestants. He gradually deprived them of their equal civil rights, and endeavoured to put down the Protestant Church altogether. Bodies of troops, accompanied by monks, passed through the southern provinces, compelling the inhabitants to renounce their religion, demolishing the places of worship, and putting to death the preachers. Hundreds of thousands of Protestants fled to Switzerland, the Netherlands, England, and Germany. In vain was it attempted to restrain this self-expatriation by cordons along the borders. Many Protestants also made an insincere profession of Roman Catholicism. These, on the slightest appearance of relapse, were put to death. On October 23, 1685, Louis at last revoked the Edict of Nantes (*see* Rulhière, *Eclaircissements Historiques sur les Causes de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, 2 vols. Paris, 1788). Hereupon began a new flight, followed by a still more fearful persecution. Their marriages were declared null, their children deprived of the right of inheritance, and forcibly shut up in convents; their preachers indiscriminately put to death. From the vicinity of Nîmes, where they had always been very numerous, thousands betook themselves to the mountains and continued the exercise of their religion in secret. France had lost by this time more than a million of her most active, enterprising, and industrious citizens; and, notwithstanding all the persecutions, about two millions continued to adhere to the Protestant religion.

The actual conditions before and at the time of repeal of the Edict of Nantes, and the effect produced on the hunted Huguenots, are admirably described in Sir Conan Doyle's popular romance *The Refugees*. In chapter 5 he says:

'These were days when, if the Huguenot was not absolutely forbidden in France, he was at least looked upon as a man who existed upon sufferance, and who was unshielded by the laws which protected his Catholic fellow-subjects. For twenty years the stringency of the persecution had increased until there was no weapon which bigotry could employ, short of absolute expulsion,

which had not been turned against him. He was impeded in his business, elbowed out of all public employment, his house filled with troops, his children encouraged to rebel against him, and all redress refused him for the insults and assaults to which he was subjected. Every rascal who wished to gratify his personal spite, or to gain favour with his bigoted superiors, might do his worst upon him without fear of the law. Yet in spite of all, these men clung to the land which disowned them, and, full of love for their native soil which lies so deep in a Frenchman's heart, preferred insult and contumely at home to the welcome which would await them beyond the seas.'

You may wonder perhaps that I refer you to a romance instead of an authentic history. The real facts of history are often best appreciated when seen in the picture of the artist rather than in the mere reproduction of the photographer. We learn less from the mechanical recorder, however accurate, than from the artistic selector. When you wish to realise the stage and the actors in a great national crisis, or in a religious war, the impression which the mind retains from a great romance is often more accurate and always more attractive than that derived from a history accurate in minute detail. In the romance you get the atmosphere and the environment, which in the cold pages of history are generally lost. Those who wish to trace the process of the blending of the Norman and the Saxon races must read *Ivanhoe*. Those who wish to realise the Court and the character of Queen Elizabeth must drink in the pages of *Kenilworth*. Those who desire to learn the spirit and the purpose of the Covenanter and of the devoted followers of Claverhouse must learn it in the pages of *Old Mortality*. The exodus from France which followed the repeal of the Edict of Nantes gave to the prosperity of France a blow from which she did not recover until after the Revolution. Its immediate effect was to destroy utterly several great branches of industry; hundreds of manufactories were closed, whole villages were depopulated, many large towns became half deserted, and a large extent of land went entirely out of cultivation. The clothworkers of Abbeville emigrated in a body. The silk manufacturers of Tours were reduced by nearly 40,000.

Of 8000 looms only 100 remained at work, and of 800 mills 730 were closed. The Revocation proved almost as fatal to the prosperity of Lyons as it did to that of Tours and Nantes. The Huguenots, employers and employed, fled to Switzerland, to Holland, and to England.

Now we must turn to the state of the Province of Ulster to follow the fate of those who came to Ulster either direct from France or from the countries in which they had found temporary shelter. There had been settlements of Huguenots and other classes of foreign Protestants in several parts of Ireland outside Ulster as early as the time of Henry VIII. One celebrated settler was John Bale, the Bishop of Ossory, the violent controversialist of the time of Edward VI.

In the year 1567 Sir Henry Sidney was Lord Deputy of Ireland. His son, the renowned and accomplished Sir Philip Sidney, held high command in the Low Countries. His life had been miraculously spared on the dreadful day of St. Bartholomew. He had proved the full extent of the tender mercies of France and the fell devotedness of Spain. He longed with chivalrous impetuosity to save the oppressed and continually he urged on his good and wise father to carry out his views.

The Lord Deputy addressed Cecil in the following characteristic letter :—

'Whereas, of late certeine agents from the Marchaunt straungers of the Lowe Countries, have bene sutors unto me, that they might obtaine my allowance and good consent, to have some convenient place within this Realme, assigned unto them, where they might remayne, and dwell in saffetye together, in the exercyse of their religion, and be incorporated with certeine freedoms privelidgies and liberties according to a Booke of Peticions they exhibited unto me; I havinge withe the advice of Her Majesties Counseil, my assistants here, had consideracion of their suite, and wayeing how necessarie and expediente it is to have this countrie more plentifullye peopled, and especiallye stored with mecanicall and handy craftes men (whereof nowe there is a great want and scarcetie) for workinge of the commodities within the Lande, and likewise the rather both to allure and teache the natyves of the soyle to be more industrious,

and to learn to set themselves a worke wherebye so lardge commoditie wold growe to the countries, beneffit to her Majestie in the encrease of her custome, and otherways in licensinge the strangers to reside and dwell here amongst them. I have therefore assented to dyvers of their peticions, and put them in comforte that they shal be both loveinglye received countenanced by my authoritie, and likewise enjoy soch lyberties and favour, as in good discreacion I can grante theim. And for so moche as in their removinge thence, to come hither, they are to bringe over with theim, both money to sett their Artisans and handye craftesmen on woorke, household stuffe and other utensils and necessaries (such as in removing of household is accustomed), which they cannot doe; but they shall ensurre penaltie and danger of lawe, and forfeyture of such things as they shall transporte and carry over without speciall lycense and favour, I pray you extende your friendlye goodwill towardes them, and the advancement of so good a Plott, intended for the benefit of this Realme, so as to procure theim a pasporte and lycense for the transportation of their Money, Household stuffs, Utensils, and other their necessares and commodities, that they may not be stayed in their comminge over, but may have free passage, paienge either no custome at all, or ells so reasonable a rate for customs as they may not be discouraged of this their advanture, at the beginninge, which I hope in tyme to come will turne to no small commodite to bothe the Realme, if this enterprise may be well favored and countenaunced. For it is a thinge I have longe wished and sought for to have this Countrie stored of men of their sorte, whereof their is in all places of this realme, so great want.'

In the early days of Elizabeth, tribal wars, pestilence, and famine had left Ulster in such a deplorable condition that the province offered no attraction even to emigrants flying from ruthless persecution. Whether you judge of the conditions by the picturesque prose of Froude or the calm impartiality of Lecky, the picture is one of the darkest in Eastern or Western history. I think Burke's celebrated letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe is no exaggeration. If (he says)

'we read Baron Findlas, Spenser, and Sir John Davies we cannot miss the true genius and policy of the English Government there before the Revolution, as well as during the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth. The original scheme was never deviated from for a single

hour. Unheard of confiscations were made in the northern parts, upon grounds of plots and conspiracies never proved, upon their supposed authors. The war of chicane succeeded to the war of arms and of hostile statutes, and a regular series of operations were carried on, particularly from Chichester's time, in the ordinary courts of justice, and by special commissions and inquisitions; first under pretence of tenures, and then of titles in the Crown, for the purpose of the total extirpation of the interest of the natives in their own soil.'

From 1604 Arthur, Lord Chichester was Lord Deputy. For twelve years this distinguished man, who had been associated with the Protestants of France and Holland, attracted to Ireland Protestant settlers to people the desolate wastes of Ulster. His aim was to introduce a hardy population well able to maintain their homesteads with steady self-reliance. This policy was further pursued in 1633 by Wentworth, the celebrated Earl of Strafford, and those who only know that gifted and unfortunate nobleman by the scathing description of Macaulay will welcome the record of the great service he rendered to Ulster and the prosperity which he induced there, soon to be destroyed by the Great Rebellion of 1641.

The views of the Viceroy towards this county were statesmanlike and just. In his hands the sword of state became a terror to evildoers. Amongst his undertakings, to develop the resources of the country Wentworth took up the idea of fostering the linen trade. With this view he imported large quantities of flax seed from Holland. He held out at the same time great inducements to skilled workmen to come over from France and the Low Countries to set up looms and become instructors of others. A letter from him to the Master of the Rolls and one of the Lord Justices shows this clearly, and develops a great policy. It is from London, dated July 25, 1636:

'I endeavoured another way to set them to work, and that is by bringing in the making and trade of linnen cloth; the rather in regard the women are all naturally bred to spinning, that the Irish earth is apt for bearing of flax, and that this manufacture would be in the conclusion rather a benefit to the Kingdome.

I have therefore sent for flax seed into Holland, being a better sort than we have any, and sown this year a thousand pounds worth of it (finding by some flax I sowed last year that it takes there very well). I have sent for workmen out of the Low Countries and south of France, and set up already six or seven loomes, which, if it please God to bless us this year, I trust so to invite them to follow it, when they see the great profit arising thereby, as that they shall generally take to it, and employ themselves that way; which if they do I am confident it will prove a mighty business, considering that in all probability we shall be able to undersell the linnen cloathes of Holland and France, at least twenty in the hundred.'

The flax seed was sown and took very well in the soil. The foreign workmen came, looms were set going and the people were employed. Many other proprietors followed his example. The Viceroy gave the best encouragement to the work by adventuring thirty thousand pounds of his own fortune in this most laudable undertaking.

Few passages in the history of the British Empire are more interesting than Cromwell's bold interference on behalf of the unfortunate inhabitants of the valleys. The epistles which Milton, as his secretary, wrote to the leading Protestant Powers on behalf of the Piedmontese are truly touching. The letter from Cromwell himself to the King of France in 1658 was one not to be forgotten:

'I most earnestly beseech and conjure you, most Christian King! by that right hand which signed the league and friendship between us and by that same goodly ornament of your title "most christian" by no means to suffer or permit such liberty of rage and fury uncontrolled, we will not say in any Prince for certainly such barbarous severity could never enter the breast of any Prince, much less one so tender in years, nor enter into the female thoughts of his mother, but in those sanctified cutthroats, who professing themselves to be servants and disciples of our Saviour Christ "who came into the world to save sinners," abuse his meek and peaceful name and precepts to the most cruel slaughter of the innocent—Rescue! you that are able in your towering station—worthy to be able—rescue! so many suppliants, prostrate at your feet, from the hand of ruffians who, lately drunk with blood, again thirst after it, and think it their safest way to throw the odium of their cruelty

upon Princes. But, as for you, great Prince! suffer not, while you reign, your titles, nor the confines of your kingdom to be contaminated with this same heaven-offending scandal nor the peaceful Gospel of Christ to be defiled with such abominable cruelty.'

At the outbreak of the Great Rebellion of 1641 Sir John Temple, writing to Charles I, describes the country as lying desperately bleeding, almost expiring under the weight of its present calamity. The whole Province of Ulster, he says, is entirely in possession of the rebels except that part which is possessed by the Scots who stand upon their guard but for want of arms and commanders dare not venture to attempt anything of moment against the rebels.

The Huguenot settlers in Ulster, and indeed the Protestants in every part of Ireland, suffered, though their suffering was short, under the rule of James II and Tyrconnel. Several of them took prominent parts in the war which was ended by the battle of the Boyne, some of them assisted the defenders of Derry, and many Huguenot names are found in the list of officers of Kirke's army. There is a long list of the names of Huguenot officers in the army of Duke Schomberg given in Dr. Grimwade's history. Schomberg's headquarters were at Lisburn for a considerable time before the Battle of the Boyne, and many of the Huguenot settlers and many of the Scotch settlers helped to form that conquering force. One incident of King William's march from Carrickfergus, where he landed, is related by Mr. Hugh McCall in *Ireland and her Staple Manufactures.*

'An interesting incident is related of René Bulmer, one of the French exiles, who had resided there for some time previous to the landing of King William at Carrickfergus. This person was a Huguenot settled in West Flanders, where he had attained much celebrity for his skill as a blacksmith, and also as a professor of the veterinary art. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the elder Bulmer and his family were obliged to seek refuge in distant lands from the persecution that raged in their own country. When the Prince of Orange and his followers were on their way from Belfast to meet the army of King James the troops arrived at Lambeg, from the centre of which five roads branched off in different

directions. Seeing a person standing at one of the cottage doors, King William, who rode at the head of a troop, inquired, in language largely intermixed with French idiom, which of the roads led to Lisburn and Hillsborough. Bulmer, to whom the question was addressed, replied in genuine French. Evidently gratified at meeting so unexpectedly a native of France, his Majesty entered into a friendly conversation with him for several minutes relative to his native place, and the circumstances that led to the exile of his family; and, after paying a very gallant compliment to the young and handsome wife of his informant, who had come out to see the soldiers, the Royal traveller shook hands with each of them, and passed on with his troops towards their destination.'

After the Battle of the Boyne a large number of the officers in the victorious army were rewarded with tracts of land left by the rebels or confiscated by the Crown. Between 1680 and 1710 the emigration of Huguenots into Ulster was very large indeed, and William III and his successors did, in happier times, and with larger resources, carry out the policy which had been originally introduced by Sidney, Chichester, and Strafford. The Huguenots in Ulster were for many years after the settlement a separate people and for several generations they preserved their national characteristics and their marked peculiarities. In Lisburn, as in Canterbury, they had a separate church, where the service was conducted in their own language, which was indeed the language of their hearths and homes. In 1697 an Act of Parliament was passed to foster the linen manufacture in Ulster, and William III invited over from Holland the French Huguenot Louis Crommelin, who had been driven out of France and settled in Holland. The King appointed him 'Overseer of the Royal Linen Manufacture of Ireland,' and settled him in Lisnagarvey, which was the ancient name of Lisburn. He was encouraged to invite over others of his countrymen of all ranks to assist him in establishing the manufacture and instructing the natives. Crommelin brought over to Lisburn 1000 looms and spinning-wheels of an improved construction, and invited over a number of Huguenots who formed a considerable colony in and around Lisburn.

The jealousy of the woollen trade, then becoming important in Ireland, and the tariff laws intended to promote the linen and to destroy the woollen trade, are recorded with bitter and deserved condemnation in Lecky's *History of Ireland.* In the result the linen trade in the north greatly increased. The English Government gave it some real encouragement in the shape of bounties, and Irish linen was freely admitted into England, while that of other countries was clogged by heavy duties. The part which was played by the refugees in the revival of industry in Ulster was a most distinguished one. Their liberty was protected by Acts of the Irish Parliament. Some of them conformed to the Established Church and translated its Liturgy into their own language. They threw themselves actively into every form of industry and identified themselves thoroughly with Ulster interests. The first literary journal in Ireland was edited by a Huguenot, and to them the linen trade owed most if not all of its extension and prosperity, and by them the first Florists' Society was established in Ulster.

So successful was Louis Crommelin that he received the thanks of the Irish Parliament and a donation of ten thousand pounds for the eminent services he had done the country in the establishment of the linen manufacture.

He had many personal interviews with the King, who showed him much favour, and in 1706 he received the formal thanks of the Irish Parliament. He was the author of a valuable essay, which was printed in 1705, entitled *An Essay towards the improving of the Hempen and Flaxen Manufactures of Ireland,* containing many useful instructions for the better management of the flax plant in its various stages, and for the several processes of spinning, weaving, and bleaching. Closely connected with the Crommelin family was that of Delacherois, also Huguenot refugees, and forming part of the colony at Lisburn. They had suffered deeply under the persecutions in France, and on their departure their property was confiscated. In an Irish newspaper it is said

'History and chronology more frequently record those events that tend to the glory, rather than to the prosperity, of nations.

Thus in the various tables of remarkable occurrences the establishment of our great staple, the Linen Manufacture, is omitted. It was on the 13th October, 1711, that His Grace, the Duke of Ormond, having appointed trustees for the Linen Manufacture of Ireland, they were, by His Grace's direction, summoned to the Castle of Dublin, where the deed of their appointment was read to them. The individual who, in establishing the Linen Manufacture in Ireland, contributed so much to its prosperity deserves to be memorised amongst our most illustrious countrymen, whether statesmen, legislators, or warriors. The name of this person, now so little known, was Louis Crommelin, who in a space of fourteen years, with a colony brought from Holland to Lisburn, overcame many disabilities and obstacles, and settled the Linen Manufacture in the Northern Counties, confirmed by a vote of the Irish Parliament, on the 30th October, 1707.'

In his Petition to the Irish Linen Board, which was established by the Duke of Ormond in October 1711, Crommelin recounted all he had done and requested a renewal of the patent.

This is probably the best statement of the services he rendered to Ulster and her staple manufacture. In 1717 he desired to extend his beneficent operations to other parts of Ireland, and Parliament was prepared to assist him, but the scheme failed.

He had gathered round him in this little French colony men who bore such distinguished names as Dubourdieu, Delavade, Roché, Perrin, Saurin, whose descendants were the eloquent Bishop of Dromore, and the Attorney-General of Ireland, Goyer, who was one of the first Clerks of the Huguenot Church in Lisburn, Colbert who is reputed to have been related to Louis the Fourteenth's great Finance Minister. After many years the Huguenots mingled in the population of Ulster and their names took a popular pronunciation. Perhaps there are many who fail to recognise in the Culberts, Delacherys, Gores, Boomers, Brathwaits, Sweeneys, Charters, Birneys, Dillons, Sinclairs, Jelletts, and Perrins any trace of their Huguenot descent. The influence of Crommelin and his associates on the linen trade was most marked even in the earlier years of

immigration. As early as 1696 a writer in London, in a pamphlet called 'The Merchants' Warehouse,' speaks in the highest terms of productions of the linen colony in Lisburn. What Ulster owes to its Huguenot settlers is admirably summed up in one of the supplements lately published by the *Times* newspaper:

Ireland.

'No one has ever yet been able to assert authoritatively when or by what channel Ireland first entered upon the business of the production of linen in which to-day she is without a serious rival. It is beyond dispute very ancient, has followed the same lines of development as in England and Scotland—but at a more laggard pace for a time after the introduction of machinery—and owing to climatic conditions, an abundant supply of labour at a workable level of wages, and a fortunate course of circumstances, has become firmly and broadly based.

'The fact of the commingling of race is the true key to its history. It has enjoyed its day of subsidies. These explain how it comes about that the industry under domestic conditions was formerly carried on in the North, South, East, and West, and by a multitude of cross influences finally centralised itself in North-East Ulster, with Belfast as headquarters, especially for merchandising and exportation. The roots of the last phase in entering into the industrial arena under conditions of machinery go back to the Scots settlement in Ulster about 1670, and as a result of the Settlement of a number of Huguenots subsequently, and under their tutelage, greater skill, sound organisation, and business methods—as methods went at that time—became the order of the day.'

The original French names given by the Huguenots to products, apparatus, and processes still survive in the Jacquard loom, the cambric handkerchief, the damask table linen, and many other trade terms.

I am sorry to trouble you with figures, which are always uninteresting, but at this point a few figures are essential to understand the view I am presenting. In 1690, after the Huguenot immigration of 1683, the linen exported from Ireland was 300,000 yards. In 1796 nearly 47 million yards

were exported. From 1816 till 1866 the exports increased to 132 million yards. Now, according to the *Times* report to which I have already referred, the capital invested in the trade amounts to fourteen millions sterling, and the wages to about four millions a year.

In Macaulay's ballad which I have already quoted, the poet makes the defeated Huguenot indignantly lament 'the renegade's shame and the exile's despair.' The Huguenot did not take to Ulster 'the exile's despair,' but the more abiding asset which the American poet Whittier has aptly described as 'the sterner virtue strong to save.' The Crommelins, the Delacherois, and Saurins soon accustomed themselves to their new surroundings and soon threw their traditional energy into business and profession. Their industry, honesty, and truth secured for them the success they coveted. In religion their influence worked for toleration, in home life and public life their influence worked for independence and purity.

In the history of the Rebellion of 1798 there is some difficulty in finding the part which the Huguenots actually took, but one striking event is recorded in *Ireland and her Staple Manufactures*. At p. 96 the author says that 'one characteristic of the Huguenot settler was his love of liberty and his desire to give freedom of judgment to all creeds and all classes. When an attempt was made to assassinate the Rev. Philip Johnson, who was supposed to be an enemy of the United Irishmen, a subscription was opened offering a large reward for bringing the offender to justice. The Huguenots led the way, saying that, however strongly they felt in favour of popular rights and religious liberty, they had no sympathy with the assassin. The subscribers included Crommelins, Delacherois, Braithwait, Bulmer, Goyer, Bouchier, St. Clair, Dupré, and Dulap.'

In the town of Lisburn where Louis Crommelin settled, where the skill of the Huguenot settlers gave the great impetus to the linen trade of Ulster, there is the old Cathedral Church of Connor where Bishop Jeremy Taylor preached some of those eloquent sermons on liberty and charity which have if possible increased the fame of the author of *The Liberty of*

Prophesying. In the burial-ground which surrounds that church lie the remains of the earliest Huguenot settlers in Ulster. You can easily understand the peculiar veneration with which the inhabitants regard this sacred ground. The names on the gravestones are the names of those who are imperishably associated with the cause of civil and religious liberty in France and in Ireland. Under the eastern wall of that churchyard there are a few weather-worn Huguenot tombstones, on one of which there is the inscription

> Luge viator et ut ille dum vita manebat
> Suspice coelum despice mundum respice finem.

This elliptical sentence gives the rule of conduct which the Huguenot invoked to guide his life, and the history of the immigrants shows, I think, that there is in it the truth not always found in epitaphs. These words and this history which they recall inspired many years ago a local poet who wrote under the *nom de plume* of Leamh Dherg, to sum up the characteristics of the immigrants in lines that have long achieved a wide popularity in Ulster, for the poet expressed the Huguenot tradition which he inherited, and the Huguenot influence which he felt :

> Lightly tread, beneath are sleeping
> Warriors of the Cross of God,
> Warriors' conscience truly keeping
> Spite of persecution's rod.
> Danger scorning, bribes despising,
> Wealth and lands they left behind,
> More than gold their conscience prizing,
> More than home their chainless mind.

The names of the Huguenots, their characteristics and their peculiarities, have long since been absorbed in the mixed race which holds the manufacturing districts of Ulster, but their influence was not the less important, and some of the best qualities of the Ulster character may still be traced to the endurance, strength, and purity of the immigrants. They emerged from persecution suffered in the South of France not with 'the exile's despair,' but with the determination,

in spite of the loss of home and property, to be industrious and free, in the Northern Province to which they bent their steps.

The Huguenot enduring persecution in his French home, fleeing from the persecutors when the burden could no longer be borne, or starting life afresh in the province of his adoption, was the same sturdy, vigorous, independent personality. When all hope of relief from persecution disappeared they turned in the cruel sadness of parting from their home

To the church where the bones of their fathers decayed,
Where they fondly had hoped that their own would be laid,

but it was in the spirit of resignation to their inevitable fate in the land of their birth and in the well-founded hope for security, liberty, and peace in the land of their adoption they bade farewell to their own loved land of France. That farewell is translated in Macaulay's vigorous lines:

Farewell, and for ever; the priest and the slave
May rule in the halls of the free and the brave;
Our hearths we abandon, our lands we resign,
But, Father, we kneel to no altar but Thine.

The persecutors failed: the exiles succeeded; and the loss to France has been the gain of Ulster, and that gain is not confined to the increase of wealth, material prosperity, or improved conditions of life; for the Ulsterman at home and in the King's Dominions beyond the sea has learned the lesson of the history we have now been considering—to value at its true worth his citizenship in the British Empire.

Note.—The authorities which I have referred to or quoted are:

Macaulay's *History*, and *Essay on Milton*, and his ballads.
Lecky's *History of Ireland.*
Smiles on *The Huguenots.*
Ireland and her Staple Manufactures, by Hugh McCall.
The Huguenots in Ireland, by the Rev. Dr. Grimwade.
The Ulster Journal of Archæology, vols. 1–4.
Froude's *English in Ireland.*
Cromwell's Letters, &c., by Carlyle.
The Refugees, by Sir A. Conan Doyle.
The *Times* Supplement 'Ireland.'

Notes to the Pedigree of André.

I. THE ENGLISH BRANCH.

This André Pedigree, it should be noted, must be taken only at its worth. It can make no claim to completeness. Returning to it after some thirty years, the compiler has, to his great regret, found it impossible, though not for lack of effort, to bring it, so far as relates to the English branch, properly up to date. This branch springs, as will be seen, from Guillaume (1685–1747), the eldest of the twelve children of Jean André and Louise Vazeille, while the French branch derives from Jacques (1699–1775), their eleventh child, who in his turn had twelve children. The family was intimately connected with the French Hospital, no fewer than seven of its members having been on the Directorate, and the pedigree, which has been carried on to include the allied and cognate families of Grellier and Capper, exhibits in all ten Directors.

(1) The Sponsors who appear in the Nismes Register were (1) for Suffronnette in 1620, Pierre Bérard and Suffronnette Finotte, her grandmother; (2) for Estienne in 1621, Estienne and Jeanne Babois; (3) for Jacques François in 1622, Jacques Bérard and Suffronnette de Mejanes; (4) for Pierrette Privat in 1628, Estienne Babois and Pierre Accabat; (5) for Catherine in 1626, M. Pol de Mejanes and Catherine Joly; and for Jean in 1628, Jean Rolland and Marie Moynier. In the next generation we find as sponsors (1) for Isabeau in 1649, Pierre Privat and Isabeau Bérard; (2) for Jean in 1651, Jean André and Gabrielle Sigalon; (3) for Catherine in 1652, Paul Privat and Catherine André; (4) for David in 1654, David André and Jeanne Privat; (5) for Antoine in 1655, Antoine Chales and Catherine Privat; (6) for Isabeau in 1657, Paul Bérard and Isabeau Babois; (7) for Pierre in 1658, Pierre Babois and Claire Chambon; (8) for Jacques in 1661, Jacques Fournier and Marguerite Babois; (9) for Françoise in 1662, Jacques Privat and Catin André; (10) for Charles in 1664, Pierre Yvola and Madeleine

de Roux Veuve Audemard ; and (11) for Françoise in 1666, Jacques Bérard escuier and Catherine Yvolas. In the succeeding generation the only Sponsors noted are (1) for Guillaume in 1685, Guillaume Vazeille and Isabeau Bérard, and (2) for Jacques in 1699, Jacques Privat and by proxy Marguerite Brunel.

(2) Lucrèce Privat's will of 1768 tells of four sons and a daughter, David and Jean Jacques, then both deceased, and, as living, Jean, Antoine, and Elizabeth, wife of Jacob Meynadier, resident at Haarlem, Holland.

(3) The will of Guillaume André's mother-in-law, Marie Privat, née Sabatier, proved at Geneva January 30, 1731, tells of several children besides the two named in the pedigree. She had another daughter, Jeanne, wife of Jaques Aubert, of Nismes, and at least two other sons, Antoine and Pierre. The last-named, Pierre, had married, February 21, 1718, Judith, daughter of Abraham Mestrezat, Syndic of Geneva, and Catherine Rilliet. M. Mestrezat was a Genevese notability who appears to have declined a Prussian offer of the position of a Minister of State.

(4) Mrs. André, who survived her husband some forty-four years, in an interesting letter of the date of September 17, 1794 (for the sight of which the annotator is indebted to our Fellow, Mr. Lionel Cust, whose wife, a daughter of the 4th Baron Lyttelton, has equally with himself a Huguenot descent), writing to her cousin, Caroline, Lady Lyttelton, records that it was by that lady's mother that she had been brought to England. This good aunt was Mme. Paul Girardot's sister, Anne Judith Foissin, who became the wife of John Bristow, of Quiddenham Hall, Norfolk, and left a numerous posterity. Of her eight daughters, of whom six were married, Lady Lyttelton was the seventh. Louisa, the third daughter, became the wife of her kinsman, Tillieux Girardot, of Putney, who *o. s. p.* in 1793, having become a Director of 'La Providence' in 1770. Of Mrs. André there is a fine portrait extant, which has been attributed to Hogarth.

(5) The British army went into mourning for him, and the national feeling found expression in a memorial to him in Westminster Abbey. On this monument on the S. wall of the nave, beneath which his remains, brought home after a lapse of forty years, now rest, is to be seen—in bas-relief by P. M. Van Gelder—the likeness of Washington receiving the flag of truce and the letter either of André or of Clinton.[1] (For a reference to Sir Henry Clinton,

[1] For the inscription see p. 488.

cf. *ante* p. 400.) Dean Stanley records in 1890 that 'a few locks of his beautiful hair still remained, and were sent to his sisters. The string which tied his hair was sent also, and is now in the possession of the Dean of Westminster,' and that 'when the remains were removed, a peach-tree, of which the roots had pierced the coffin and twisted themselves round the skull, was taken up and replanted in the King's Garden, behind Carlton House.' (Cf. Colonel Chester's *Westminster Abbey Registers*, Stanley's *Historical Memorials of the Abbey*, and *D.N.B.*)

Miniatures exist of Major André, as also of his mother, and of his three sisters, who were for many years well known in Bath society. The second, Miss Seward's 'tuneful Anna,' died in a seventy-eighth year, and the third in an eighty-second, but the eldest sister attained the good old age of ninety-three, surpassing her mother's fair Huguenot record of ninety-one.

(6) What authority there may be for the picturesque coat-of-arms which is to be found in the board-room of the French Hospital, purporting to be that borne by John Louis André (the Deputy-Governor who died in 1811, still in harness at the age of 81)—viz. Argent, a galley or lymphad sable, in chief two mullets azure—is unknown to the writer. It seems more reminiscent of Scotland than of France, being, except for the addition of the two mullets in chief, identical with the well-known Campbell quartering for the lordship of Lorne; and there is a Campbell motto that not inaptly expresses what perhaps may be the André position in relation to these arms: *Vix ea nostra voco.* A French correspondent, speaking for France, gives the arms of André as: Azure, a saltire between three mullets, one in chief and two in fesse, and in base a crescent, all or.

(7) Mr. James Lewis André (1833–1901) was a learned ecclesiologist, and, residing latterly at Horsham, he became an active member of the Sussex Archæological Society, and a valuable contributor to its *Collections*. In early life he had studied architecture in the office of Mr. Samuel Sanders Teulon, the elder of the two brothers who became Directors of the French Hospital in 1862 and 1863. Mr. André left, it is believed, two sons and six daughters. Of the sons, the elder, James Edmond Felix, married at St. Mark's, Hamilton Terrace, January 18, 1893, Dorothea Kate, second daughter of the Rev. Henry Fowler, of St. Albans, and the younger, Michael Wilfrid, married at St. Patrick's, Ballarat, Victoria, Eileen, daughter of James Coghlan. Of the

daughters, Mary Lucy married November 28, 1903, at the Church of the Sacred Heart, Hove, John Dunn, of Montagu Square, W., and Edith Miriam married January 7, 1907, at St. James's, Spanish Place, Edward Marcus Attwood Wakefield, of Swinsty Hall, Otley, Yorks.

(8) Peter Paul Grellier, the father of the above Richard Grellier, had become a Director of 'La Providence' in 1820. He was baptised at La Patente, April 4, 1773, being second son of Gabriel Grellier and Marie Anne Hebert, and d. December 11, 1828, being buried at St. Ethelburga's, Bishopsgate Street (Will P.C.C. 18, Liverpool). By his marriage in 1798 with Mary, daughter of James Lewis Turquand [who had become a Director in 1777], he had five sons, Peter James, Richard, John, William and George Robert, and two daughters, Mary Louisa and Charlotte. Through the marriage of his son William (1807–1852) in 1844, with Ann, daughter of Robert Harley Goodall, he was grandfather of William Grellier, of 6 Queen Anne's Gate, Westminster, who came on the Directorate in 1878; and through that in 1821 of his daughter Mary Louisa (1803–1870) with Stephen Clark Norris (1796–1857) grandfather also of Charles Norris, our senior Director, and Treasurer from 1887 to 1902. (Cf. Crisp's *Visitation of England and Wales*, xvi. 9, and xvii. 101.)

The monumental inscription in Westminster Abbey to Major André runs as follows :—

Sacred to the Memory
of
JOHN ANDRÉ
Who raised by his Merit at an early period of Life to the rank of
Adjutant General
of British Forces in America
and employed in an important but hazardous Enterprise
fell a sacrifice to his Zeal for his King and Country
on the 2d of October A.D. 1780
aged 29
Universally Beloved and esteemed by the Army in which he served
and lamented even by his
FOES
His gracious Sovereign King George the Third
has caused this Monument
to be erected.

[Below]

The Remains of Major JOHN ANDRÉ
were on the 10th of August 1821 removed from Tappan
By JAMES BUCHANAN, Esquire
His Majesty's Consul at New York
under instructions from his Royal Highness
The DUKE OF YORK
And with the permission of the Dean and Chapter
Finally deposited in a Grave
Contiguous to this Monument
on the 28th of November 1821.

II. THE BRANCH THAT REMAINED IN FRANCE.

(1) THE Rivets came originally from Saint-Hippolyte. A romantic interest belongs to that great French Commander, who was at once the nephew of the Duke of Marlborough and the son of an English king, the Maréchal de Berwick, and attaches itself even to his descendants. One recalls especially that battle of Almanza, which saw the opposing forces so strangely officered—the English (with the Dutch and Portuguese) troops commanded by a man of French birth, Lord Galway, otherwise Marquis de Ruvigny, and the French with the Spanish troops led to victory by a man of English birth. the erstwhile Duke of Berwick, James FitzJames. A brief note therefore of the connexion which in less stirring times has come into existence between the families of FitzJames and Rivet may perhaps be held not to be too discursive. Madame Mira André's next sister, Iphigénie Philomène Rivet, by her marriage in 1796 with Antoine de Baguet, became the mother of Cléonice (1798–1853), who married Count Gustave de Lœwenhielm, minister plenipotentiary for Sweden, and was mother to Marguerite, who in 1851 became the wife of Duc Edouard de FitzJames, and had issue (1) Jacques, born 1852; (2) Françoise, born 1853; (3) Marie, born 1855; and (4) Henri, born 1857.

(2) Of the marriage of Marie Louise André and André Poupart de Neuflize there was issue some twelve children, viz.: (1) Guillaume, born 1849, who died an infant; (2) Jean, Baron de Neuflize, born August 21, 1850, who, by his marriage in 1874 with Madeleine Dollfus, has two sons, André, born 1875, the father of three daughters by his marriage in 1903 with Eva Barbey, of New York, and Jacques,

born 1883, and an only daughter, Roberte, born September 16, 1892, and married June 25, 1912, to Viscount Duncannon, M.P., eldest son of the 8th Earl of Bessborough; (3) Jeanne, born July 1851, who in 1872 married Albert, Baron Mallet; (4) Henri, 1852–59; (5) Madeleine, born September 1853, who married Théodore Verdet; (6) Henriette, born and died 1854; (7) Marthe, born 1855, who married Gaston Kléber; (8) Edouard, 1856–59; (9) Lucie, born October 1857; (10) Robert Amédé, born April 5, 1860; (11) Jacqueline, born 1862, who married Auguste Verdet; and (12) Alice, born 1864, who married Marcel Pillivuyt.

(3) Henri Mallet (1824–1908) and Gabrielle André (1833–1907) are followed by numerous descendants. They had three sons and a daughter, who one and all married. These were Etienne, born 1853; Frédéric, born 1854; Guillaume, born 1860; and Suzanne born 1863, married in 1884 to M. Auguste Thurneyssen, banker, The Mallets (like the Duvals, recorded ix, 117) migrated at an early date from Rouen to Geneva, where the senior branch still remains. Jacques Mallet 'du Pan,' driven from thence to England in 1798, was the founder of the English branch, and the great-grandfather of Mr. Bernard Mallet, C.B., since 1909 Registrar-General—to whom, and also to his kinsman, M. Gérard Mallet, of Paris, the present writer is much beholden for information—and of Sir Louis du Pan Mallet, K.C.M.G., British Ambassador since 1913 to Turkey. A pedigree of the English Mallets was communicated in 1898 to the June number of *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*.

(4) The Pieyres came from Valleraugue, the *lieu de provenance* of several of our Refugees, as for instance Carle, Teissier, Teulon, and possibly Gignoux. Pierre Pieyre (1642–1685) had to his two wives Jeanne Carle and Françoise Heubacque. Of the children of his second marriage were Marie, who married a Pierre Teulon, and Jean, who by his two marriages with Suzanne Carle (daughter of Jean Carle and Jeanne Mourgue) and Lianon de Lacour, was the father of eleven children, the sixth of whom, Alexandre, was grandfather to the above Baron Pieyre.

(5) M. Edouard André, the last of his branch of the family in the male line, was a notable connoisseur and collector, and as such with his artist wife spent much time in Italy. On his death in 1894, his considerable estate passed to his widow; it included a château near Chantilly and a town house full of art-treasures at 158 Boulevard Haussmann. The latter, with its contents carefully augmented in the ensuing years, was bequeathed by her in 1912 to the Institut of France, and is now known as the Musée André-Jacquemart.

Miscellanea.

I.—SUPPLEMENTAL TO 'MEMORIES OF SPITALFIELDS.'

SINCE the publication of my article, a doubt has been raised in the Press as to the connection of Dickens with the old La Patente Church, in its then capacity of a Baptist Chapel. From inquiries I have made, it seems that there is a tradition that Dickens attended the chapel, and there met Sam Weller. This tradition was apparently adopted without inquiry when the Kyrle Society decorated the old Hall.

Forster in his 'Life of Dickens' mentions that in his early days Dickens attended the Baptist Chapel in Seymour Street, Euston Road (now St. Mary's, Somers Town), so that the tradition of his attending this particular one in Spitalfields is most probable. The writer who has raised the point states that the scene of Mr. Stiggins's memorable defection from the temperance cause occurred in a house in Brick Lane, and that he is able to shew the very room in which the Temperance Society met, and correctly draws attention to the fact that it was 'pleasantly and airily situated at the top of a safe and commodious ladder,' so that the old church was certainly not the place of the meetings of the Brick Lane Temperance Society.

The probable explanation is that the Brick Lane room was a mission-room of the Baptist Chapel, and that Dickens, with his sense of humour, saw in the ladder an excellent opportunity of working in a hit at teetotalism, of which he apparently never was enamoured. His *Pickwick Papers* commence with Goswell Road, and his mention of Brick Lane seems to confirm Mr. Davies's statement, in his notes on my paper, that Dickens frequented the place. *Pickwick* was written in 1837, when Dickens was twenty-five years old, at an age when he would be careless of wounding, so long as he found material for his humorous sketches, and, although it may be merely a coincidence it is interesting, perhaps, to notice that in *Oliver Twist*, written in 1838, the following year to *Pickwick*, he brings in the name of the respected churchwarden

of Christ Church, Mr. William Sikes, as the immortal and well-known Bill the robber.

I would only add that these inquiries have elicited the interesting fact that on the decoration of the Hall by the Kyrle Society in 1899, having regard to the carved royal arms in the centre and their wish to place Dickens's portrait on the walls, it was decided to balance the portrait by another of a Huguenot, and the portrait selected was that of Coligny.

To the antiquary I would like to say that the weaver's sign, of which an illustration is given, is the last one in London, and that the illustration of the south end of Church Passage, with its iron posts blocking the roadway into Spital Square, will shortly be of interest. Owing to the scheme of improvement for enlarging Spitalfields Market, the house and the posts in front will disappear to form a wide street through Spital Square into Norton Folgate, as a highway to Liverpool Street station.

(*Communicated by W. H. Manchée.*)

II.—CHANGES IN FRENCH NAMES.

Mr. McCall's paper raised the curious point of the change of French names in Ireland, and a few instances which have come under my own notice may be of some interest. In the *Globe* of January 22, 1809, there is a note as to Lord Ventry, whose family name is 'Mullins,' having reverted to the ancient form of 'de Moleyns,' the name of the Kerry landowner M.P. for Dingle in 1692 who is generally regarded as the founder of the family.

It is our general practice to claim for Huguenot descent anything of a famous character, and certainly in the majority of cases with very good cause; but I have never yet heard the blue ribbon of the Turf mentioned by anyone with Huguenot pride of race. Nevertheless, Mr. John Gubbins of Ireland, the winner of the Derby some years ago, was no doubt a descendant of a 'de Gobelins.'

The phonetic method of recording names often leads to many amusing results. Viscount Cobham and Lord Hatherton, spelling their family names Lyttelton and Littleton, both claim descent from a Luttleton. Shakespeare signed his will in three different ways, and coming to more recent date, it is not so many years since

the Duke of Atholl notified in the Press his name was 'Atholl' and not 'Athole.'

In our French families 'Mullins' also reads 'de Moulins,' 'Dorling' 'D'Orleans,' and 'De Preux' 'Diprose'; and finally one might even suspect the Lord Mayor's name of 'Bowater' as a very possible alteration of 'Boileau.'

(*Communicated by W. H. Manchée.*)

III.—THOMAS DELACOURT.

THE following was copied by Thomas Frederick Delacourt on Tuesday, May 28, 1912, from an old document in the possession of Edgar Smith, of East Street, Wareham, ex-mayor of the borough. Mr. Smith claims descent from the Thomas Delacourt mentioned below through Nathaniel Delacourt, whose daughter, Katharine Millidge, died at Grange on August 12, 1845, aged 54 years. The paper, however, came into his possession through his wife's family, who were descended from John Brown, a trustee of the Congregational Church, Wareham, in 1819. The paper was obviously aged. Nothing is known of any earlier record extant, but local tradition is that an account was written after the death of Thomas Delacourt in 1733 by a co-religionist, and it is presumed that the following was taken from the original account in the early part of the nineteenth century.

. . . . . .

'The individual to whom this memoir relates, though in an obscure situation of life, was adorned by everything valuable in the Christian, the patriot, or the hero.

'Thomas Delacourt enjoyed the esteem and respect of all around him. The first instance in which tradition introduced him to our notice is thus related:—

'"Deeming it a duty he owed his Maker to erect a domestic altar to His worship, around which himself and family paid their morning and evening devotions, saying 'As for me and my house we will serve the Lord,' he was summoned to appear before a magistrate for keeping a conventicle in his house, and though it was apparent that none but his own family were the worshippers, he was unjustly mulcted of all his household goods, which were for three successive days exposed for public sale at the Cross, but exposed in vain, as it appears from tradition, for to the lasting

honour of the Town of Wareham be it recorded, that so great was the veneration his piety had inspired, so fully convinced were his fellow townsmen of his innocence, so great their detestation of his infamous persecutors, that not a single individual could be found as a purchaser, and his effects were restored to him again.

'"After the failure of the ill-fated attempt by the brave Monmouth to restore freedom to these realms, among many others who engaged in the struggle and fell victims to the relentless Judge Jeffreys, Captain Tyler, Mr. Matthews, and Mr. Holway, having been condemned to die, were sent to Wareham to be executed; they were hung [*sic*] on the West Wall on a spot called Bloody Bank, their quarters placed on the bridge, and their heads nailed to a wooden tower on the present site of the Town Hall. In the dead of night Delacourt with two associates (one of whom named Chick was so intimidated by a trifling noise as to desert them while engaged in their pious labour) removed the heads and secreted them in a sack under Delacourt's bed, and though his house was searched, he being suspected of the fact, providentially he escaped, owing to their not examining that part of the room. The succeeding night he interred the heads of the three patriots under the Short Walls at the Tower End of East Street, at the extremity of a lane called Wyatt's Lane.

'"Being an ardent friend to civil and religious liberty, he roused the indignation of a trooper at the Bull Head Inn, who drew his sword and stabbed him in the breast. Delacourt being a strong, athletic man, with his own hand drew out the sword (which providentially glanced off on his ribs, inflicting only a flesh wound), broke it on his knee, and with one blow of his fist laid the cowardly trooper in the dust. He fled streaming with blood down to the Bestwall Wood close to the Town, where he remained some days till the troopers had left the Town, when he returned to his family.

'"In the year 1688 he saw a stranger with a military air ride into the Town, whose deportment showed that he was a bearer of tidings of importance. He went to the Hotel (now Lion), whither Delacourt instantly followed him. On Delacourt addressing him he evinced considerable suspicion, but on Delacourt mentioning his name, replied: 'The man I wanted—King William is landed at Torbay, and now let every true Briton join to secure our liberties and our laws.' Delacourt, in company with Chick and another individual whose name is lost, immediately armed themselves,

procuring a horse between them, and hastened on to join the King. On Sunday noon they passed through Honiton, and the service ending just as they passed the Church, and the congregation passing out rather tumultuously, Chick's fears led him to imagine they were pursuing his party, and willing to save himself he said, pointing to his companions,' There's two [of] Monmouth's men,' and abandoned them to their fate. Delacourt was riding at the time, but with admirable presence of mind he dismounted, bidding his companion lose not a moment in joining King William. Then, drawing his sword and walking backwards down the hill, he exclaimed ' By the living God, he who first touches me is a dead man.' The air of determined bravery with which he spoke intimidated all around. He effected his retreat and succeeded in joining King William in safety. He was immediately made sergeant of a company and marched with the victorious army to London. During his stay there he was appointed to the Tower duty, and stood sentinel over the Bloody Jeffreys, whom he saw looking out of a window. He said to him: ' You Bloody Villain—you have been the murderer of many a pious man in the West of England, and I can testify to three as excellent as ever God Almighty made.' "

' He had the satisfaction of witnessing King William firmly seated on the Throne, the liberty of conscience fully recognised, and the constitution of England placed on its present happy basis. He returned to Wareham, where he lived to an honourable old age, dying in his eighty-fourth year, 1733, exclaiming with his expiring breath " Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly." '

(*Communicated by T. F. Delacourt.*)

IV.—ISAAC GARNIER.

Latin inscription on the tomb of Isaac Garnier in the burial-ground attached to the Royal Hospital of Chelsea. Isaac Garnier was appointed by King William III in 1691—viz., five years after he had fled from France—First Apothecary-General of the Hospital and College.

Quem fertilis aluit Campania
Quem alma aluit Gallia
Quem crudele Ludovici XIV^{MI} in Orthodoxos
decretum privavit Patria

Quem omnibus in CHRISTO recta fide credentibus
benevola hospitaliter excepit Anglia
Quem religionis et libertatis assertor
per initium favoris
hujusce Hospitalis Regii Pharmacopolum
benigne constituit GULIELMUS TERTIUS
Quem strenuum in omni negotio
liberalitate stabilivit ANNA
Sub hoc tumulo jacet
ISAACUS GARNIER
Abiit a vita ad mortem
Anno Domini MDCCXI^MO ætatis suae octogesimo primo
Dilectissimo Patri Matrique
hoc caritatis
monumentum statuit
ISAACUS GARNIER
Paternæ stirpis vetustissimus

[*Translation*]

One whom fruitful Champagne bred
Whom fostering France fostered and reared
Whom the cruel edict of LOUIS XIV against the Orthodox
robbed of his fatherland
Whom England, kindly to all who with the right faith believe in
CHRIST, hospitably welcomed
Whom the Champion of Religion & Liberty, KING WILLIAM III,
as the first fruits of his favour,
of his bountiful goodness, appointed
Apothecary General of this Royal Hospital
Whom for his industry in all he had to do,
ANNE, by her liberality upheld in his position,
lies under this tombstone
ISAAC GARNIER
He departed this life in the year 1711 A.D. in the 81st year of his age

---

To his dearly beloved Father and Mother
this Memorial of Love was erected by
ISAAC GARNIER
his father's eldest son

(*Communicated by Arthur E. Garnier.*)

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This Index has been prepared in accordance with the rules laid down by the Congress of Archæological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries.

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